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PARADOSIS

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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PARADOSIS

OR

"IN THE NIGHT
IN WHICH HE WAS (?) BETRAYED"

BY

EDWIN A. ABBOTT

"*Made intercession* for the transgressors."
Isaiah liii. 12 (R.V.).

"*Was delivered up* for their transgressions."
Ib. (LXX).

"*Was delivered up* for our trespasses."
Ib. (St Paul, *Rom.* iv. 25).

"*Shall make propitiation* for the transgressors."
Ib. (Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 50).

LONDON
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TO BRIAN WALTON

EDITOR OF THE POLYGLOT BIBLE

AND EDMUND CASTELL

COMPILER OF THE LEXICON HEPTAGLOTTON

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

BY ONE WHO HAS PROFITED MUCH FROM THEM

THOUGH TOO LITTLE BECAUSE TOO LATE

IN THE HOPE THAT OTHERS

MAY PROFIT MORE

41209

PREFACE

PARADOSIS, which means any kind of "delivering up"—including the delivering of a tradition to pupils and the delivering of a hostage or ransom to enemies—means, in this treatise, the delivering up of the Son by the Father for the redemption of mankind. It is maintained that the earliest Gospels—but not St Paul, nor St Peter's First Epistle, nor the Fourth Gospel—have occasionally confused this with the delivering up of Jesus by Judas to the servants of Caiaphas. How this has come to pass, and how great a spiritual loss is endangered by such a confusion, is indicated in detail throughout the volume and outlined in the Introduction.

A close examination reveals one and the same spiritual Law pervading apparently diverse spiritual processes—the "delivering up" of the Son being an exemplification of His own doctrines concerning the "losing and finding of the soul," which might be otherwise expressed as "laying down" life in order to "take it again." These doctrines introduce the thought of the Resurrection. They also find a supreme illustration in the Eucharist, in which the Son delivered up to His brethren, and for His brethren, what Clement of Alexandria calls His "complete Self."

These ramifications of the doctrine of Paradosis

have necessitated some references to subjects apparently outside its scope, and more especially to the curious mention of "Galilee" in the earlier Gospels, but not in the later, in connexion with Christ's Resurrection. An attempt has been made to explain this. The words of Eucharistic Institution have also been examined, so far as concerns the use of the word "body," in order to ascertain why the Fourth Gospel apparently avoids it, and what was the original Aramaic term employed by our Lord.

Although these and other digressions have been limited so as to exclude everything that did not bear upon Paradosis, they have resulted in producing a volume of some size compared with the small amount of Gospel text investigated: but prolonged experience has convinced me that this is the only way in which Gospel criticism can be permanently advanced, namely, by working out one subject at a time, stating the evidence fully as well as fairly, and classifying it so as to give subsequent investigators an opportunity of destroying one's conclusions by using the facts that one has collected. The commentaries that I had hoped to publish—expressing the hope too sanguinely in the Preface to *Clue*, the First Part of this series—must wait, or, so far as I am concerned, be altogether wanting. In the present state of Gospel criticism, when so much requires to be done, one cannot, perhaps, reasonably expect to be both investigator and commentator.

On one point, at all events, New Testament critics appear to be tending to agreement—the priority of Mark. Before long, I believe, they will agree as to another, namely, *the general intervention of John in cases where Luke deviates from, or omits, a tradition in Mark*[1]. A prolonged study of the Gospels strengthens my conviction that in almost every case (apart from narratives of exorcism which are non-existent in the Fourth Gospel, and also apart from matters relating to John the Baptist) wherever Luke distinctly breaks away from the tradition of Mark in the course of a Synoptic narrative, John will be found to intervene, although his intervention may be expressed with such verbal difference from Mark as not to be immediately apparent[2].

It will be seen, however, that the priority of Mark does not imply his superior accuracy. On the contrary, Luke's omissions and John's interventions generally imply that the Fourth Evangelist agreed with the Third in thinking the First to be erroneous or obscure: but the Fourth did not agree with the Third in the

[1] See *Encycl. Bibl.* col. 1768 ("Gospels" § 8): "It will be found that John generally supports a combination of Mark and Matthew, and often Mark alone, against Luke: the exceptions being in those passages which describe the relation of John the Baptist to Christ. There John goes beyond Luke." This statement, aiming at brevity, now seems to me capable of amendment. What I should prefer now to say, is, that John *intervenes in order to clear up some obscurity, or correct some misunderstanding, in Mark, in cases where Luke altogether omits, or deviates.* John does not "support" Mark in the sense of reaffirming precisely what Mark says.

[2] For instances of this, see **1282—8, 1309, 1311, 1344, 1373.**

necessity of complete omission, or as to the nature of the necessary correction. In those cases in which Luke deviates from Mark (and Matthew) while John explains, Mark may perhaps be often closest to the *words* of the Original: but the general impression produced by a comparison of some of these instances in the following pages is, that the Fourth Gospel brings us closest, not indeed to the words, but to "the mind of Christ."

In attempting to return to the Hebrew or Aramaic originals of some passages in the Gospels I have made use (to a greater extent than in my previous volumes) of the Targums and Talmuds and also of the Syriac versions of the New Testament, and, in particular, the new edition of the Syriac Gospels by Mr F. C. Burkitt, who kindly permitted me to see his text before publication. My thanks are due to several friends who corrected my proofs, including the two that have helped me throughout this series, Mr W. S. Aldis and Professor W. H. Bennett. Particular obligations are acknowledged in the passages where they occur.

EDWIN A. ABBOTT.

Wellside,
Hampstead.
15 *March*, 1904.

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INTRODUCTION (PARADOSIS, OR, DELIVERING UP THE SOUL) . . . . . 1—10

Summary. When Jesus predicted His Passion, He mentioned "delivering up" as the act, not of a traitor but of God. He referred to that "delivering up of the soul" which was a Jewish term for "martyrdom" and which was implied by the prophecy of Isaiah concerning the Suffering Servant. The Institution of the Eucharist implied, if it did not actually express, a delivering up of the soul of Christ to, and for, men—a doctrine prophesied by Isaiah, theorized on by Philo, and practised, as well as inculcated, by our Lord: and the words "Do this in remembrance of me" implied a repetition of Isaiah's precept, to "draw out our souls" to our neighbour as He delivered up His soul for us, thus "making intercession for transgressors."

Chrysostom, commenting on the Pauline account of the Eucharist, completely subordinates Judas's act of "betrayal" to the divine act of "delivering up."

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIAN MENTIONS OF PARADOSIS

§ 1 "Betray" or "deliver up" in the Gospels (**1150—2**)

§ 2 "Betray" or "deliver up" in the Acts and Epistles (**1153—7**)

§ 3 Early Christian reference to the "delivering up" in Isaiah (**1158—63**)

Summary. The A.V. is quite inconsistent in the use of "deliver up" and "betray." The R.V., after one marginal warning that "betray" and "deliver up" may be alternatives, does not repeat the warning elsewhere. The Epistles of St Paul certainly, and the First Epistle of St Peter probably, apply the word "deliver up" to the action of the Father or of the Son ; and both quote, or refer to, the prophecy of Isaiah commonly entitled *The Suffering Servant*, in which "deliver up" is used by the LXX to describe divine or Messianic action. It appears to be similarly quoted by Barnabas. Justin Martyr quotes Isaiah (liii. 12) both from the LXX ("was delivered up") and from the Hebrew ("shall make propitiation for the transgressors").

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§ 2 One of these seems based on a various reading (**1168—71**)

§ 3 "Deliver up" in Greek twice corresponds to a form of "meet (פגע)" in Hebrew (**1172—4**)

§ 4 (LXX) "He was delivered up on account of their transgressions" (**1175—7**)

§ 5 "By the hand of transgressors" (**1178—80**)

§ 6 The substitution of "trespasses" for "transgressions" (**1181—4**)

§ 7 Greek and Hebrew renderings of Is. liii. 6, 12 (**1185—94**)

Summary. Textual and doctrinal difficulties in the prophecy of Isaiah appear to have combined to produce divergences in derived Christian traditions. The notion of "making intercession for" being merged in "being delivered up for," and sometimes in "delivered up *to*," it followed that questions arose as to those "transgressors," for whom, or to whom, the delivering up took place, whether they were Jews or Gentiles, and whether they had knowingly or ignorantly transgressed. "By the hand of transgressors" appears to have been introduced as a variation of "into the hands of transgressors," and "trespasses" to have been substituted for "transgressions" in order to express pardonable sin.

CHAPTER III

JEWISH TRADITIONS OF PARADOSIS

§ 1 "Delivering up" in Jewish tradition (**1195—1200**)

§ 2 Inferential anticipations (**1201—14**)

Summary. "Delivering up the soul" is a regular New Hebrew expression for martyrdom. In the only certain instance where the verb (מסר) appears in the Bible it is conflated by the Jerusalem Targum. Owing to the interchanges of Hebrew middle and passive voices, there is a danger of confusing voluntary delivering up of self with involuntary arrest and imprisonment.

From the divergent ways in which the LXX, Aquila, the Targum, and others, rendered the Biblical language about the Suffering Servant we may anticipate inferentially the divergences likely to be made by Christian Evangelists interpreting words of the Lord based upon Isaiah's prophecy; in particular, the divergences arising from "*to*, or *for*, transgressors," and from the restriction of the word "deliver up" by some to the act of the human "betrayer" of the Messiah, by others to the act of the Lord or the Messiah Himself, while others applied the word to both acts.

CHAPTER IV

THE PREDICTION "IN GALILEE"

§ 1 The text (**1215**)

§ 2 Subsequent reference to it (**1216**)

§ 3 "Into the hands of men" (**1217—24**)

§ 4 "Galilee" might be confused with "for your sakes" (**1225—32**)

§ 5 "I will go before you to Galilee" (**1233—9**)

§ 6 "Place" in New Hebrew, meaning "God" (**1240—4**)

Summary. There appears to be a confusion between a prediction made "*in* Galilee" and a prediction about going "*to* Galilee." In "delivered up *into the hands of men*," the italicized words seem as superfluous as they would be in describing the "delivering up" of John the Baptist, unless it can be supposed that Christ indicated antithetically that He, being *God*, was delivered to "*men*," or (according to Origen) that He was delivered first to *Satan* and then to "*men*." Both these

suppositions are improbable. More probably there was an allusion to "delivered up *for the sake* of men," and בגלל, "*for the sake of*," has been confused with בגליל, "*in* (or, *into*) *Galilee*." By a confusion somewhat similar to this the Jerusalem Targum has introduced "Galilee" into a passage of Scripture where the Biblical Hebrew makes no mention of it. Among the various Jewish traditions of Christ's promise to the disciples to "go before them *for their sakes*," one may have been "to go before them to God," mentioning God by the periphrasis (very frequent in the Talmud) of "*Place*" (because God is the "eternal home" of all that is good). Hence may have arisen the Johannine tradition, "I go to prepare a *place* for you." But the latter may be explained, independently of this use of "place," as a mere paraphrase.

CHAPTER V

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§ 1 The text (**1245**)

§ 2 Apparent conflation in Mark (**1246—51**)

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§ 4 Luke's deviations from Mark (x. 32—4) (**1255—7**)

§ 5 "They shall mock him..." (**1258—66**)

§ 6 Is. liii. 10 "Trespass-offering," or "Asham" (אשם) (**1267—74**)

§ 7 Mk. x. 45 (Mt. xx. 28) "To give his soul a ransom for many" (**1275—81**)

§ 8 John's evidence (**1282—8**)

Summary. The Synoptic divergences indicate that in this prediction "the transgressors" to whom the Messiah was delivered up were taken by some as the rulers of the Jews, by others as the Gentiles, and that Mark and Matthew conflated the two, while Luke adopted the latter alone. Besides other confusions arising from literal and metaphorical interpretation of the same original, and possibly from the interchange of narrative and speech, errors appear to have arisen from similar Greek forms—*παίσας*, for example, being used for "mocking," whereas it should mean "smiting"—and from a mistranslation by the LXX of Zechariah's prophecy "They shall look on him whom they *pierced* (LXX *mocked*)."

In particular, the word *asham*, "trespass," or "trespass-offering," connected by Isaiah with "the soul" of the Suffering Servant, is liable to be confused with the word *shemesh* meaning "attendant" or "minister"; and hence it is possible that Mark's tradition about "a *ransom* for many" comes from the same Hebrew original as Luke's tradition "I am among you as he that *ministereth*."

It happens that the Greek περίψημα, an "offscouring," may mean a human sacrificial victim offered as "*ransom*," or the literal offscouring from the feet, or, as in Ignatius, a "devoted servant." Hence, when we find John intervening at this point to represent Jesus as actually making Himself a περίψημα by taking into His body—as Origen says—the ῥύπος from the feet of the disciples, we cannot feel quite sure whether Luke or John is right:—whether Luke, on the one hand, has misconstrued *asham* as *shemesh* (or περίψημα as metaphorical for a "servant"), or whether John, on the other hand, has erroneously interpreted some early use of περίψημα in a literal sense.

But having regard to the bare note-book character of Mark's Gospel, to the improbability that he would have stumbled into the beautiful saying about "a ransom" in mere error, and to the probability that our Lord used symbols in His teaching, the balance inclines toward the conclusion that Mark is here right in imputing to our Lord the doctrine of "ransom," and John right in imputing to Him the representation of it by the symbolic washing of feet. In any case the Johannine narrative is so far historical as it represents a doctrine of intercessory action actually inculcated by Jesus.

CHAPTER VI

THE PREDICTION PECULIAR TO MATTHEW

§ 1 The Context (**1289—96**)

§ 2 "After two days" (**1297—8**)

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§ 4 If Christ said "After two days," to what did it refer? (**1301—10**)

Summary. Owing to the difference between Hebrew and Aramaic, "and there *will be*" seems to have been interpreted by Mark (whom Luke follows) as "and there *was*." Matthew is right in retaining "*there will be*" as an utterance of Christ. But the identity of the Hebrew for "feast" with the Hebrew for "appointed time" has led all the Synoptists to substitute the former for the latter and to take the former as referring

to the Passover; whereas the Original appears to have had "After two days there will be the Appointed Time."

The Appointed Time, or Môad, is a term implying Redemption, and it pervades Hebrew literature. So does the typical interval expressed in "after two days," which is used in many other Biblical passages connected with Redemption, besides Hosea's prophecy of resurrection. Our Lord appears to have connected the two in a prediction of Redemption, or Deliverance, impending in His death and resurrection. This resurrection, according to the Fourth Gospel, Jesus seems to have mentioned in connexion with "the Temple of His body," apparently meaning the Church, or Himself including the Church, and not Himself alone.

According to this view, the preceding discourse about the Consummation of all things concludes with the words, "Watch, after two days is the Appointed Time"; and Mark (followed to some extent by Luke) terminated the discourse with the word "watch," and proceeded in his own person to say that "after two days" the appointed time of Passover was coming on.

Matthew, having attributed to Christ a prediction about "the Passover," instead of "the Appointed Time," appears to have been led into further error by inserting some gloss explaining that the words were not a platitude ("two days hence comes the Passover"); it was not the mere Jewish Passover but the delivering up of the Christian Paschal Lamb, *i.e.* the Crucifixion: "*The Son of man is* [*to be*] *delivered up to be crucified.*" No other Evangelist inserts this.

CHAPTER VII

THE PREDICTION AT THE LORD'S SUPPER

§ 1 The two mentions of Paradosis in the Gospels (**1311—4**)

§ 2 1 Cor. xi. 24 "This is my body which is [being delivered up] for you" (**1315—8**)

§ 3 Lk. xxii. 19 "This is my body [[which is being given for you]]" (**1319—25**)

§ 4 The Aramaic original of "my body" (**1326—31**)

§ 5 The "delivering up" of the soul (**1332—40**)

§ 6 Lk. xxii. 21 "The hand of him that delivereth me up" (**1341—50**)

§ 7 The consistency of Luke's account (**1351—8**)

Summary. The variations in the traditions of the words accompanying the giving of the bread (some inserting, some omitting, "*take*," "*eat*," "*for you*," "*given*," "*broken*" &c.) indicate, here, an Aramaic Original using הא לכון, "Behold for you," i.e. "*Here is for you*" or "*Take.*" This Aramaic הא occurs in Gen. xlvii. 23 where the LXX renders it "*Take.*" "Behold," הא (Aram. also "this"), resembles הוא (or היא), sometimes rendered "*this*" in LXX. Those who took the dative "for you" as the dative of recipience would paraphrase the original as "*This is...take it*," or "*This is...take, eat.*" Transposition might convert אלכ into אכל, "*eat*," favouring Matthew's introduction of that word.

Although St Paul does not *insert* the word "delivered up" ("my body which is [being delivered up] for you") he uses it frequently in the context, and in the same Epistle he uses the complete phrase (1 Cor. xiii. 3) "*deliver up my body* (W.H.) [that I may boast]" where English might say "*myself*" and Hebrew "*my soul.*" The Apostle's language is consistent with a belief that the Lord meant by the words of Institution that He was "delivering up His soul" not only "*to*" men but also "*for*" them, interpreting the dative as what is called the dative of advantage.

Wetstein quotes from Berachoth, "Our ancestors delivered up their *bodies* (corpora) that God might be thereby hallowed." But the Original has "*souls.*" Similarly, where Greeks would describe a man as "surrendering *himself*, or *his body*," Jews would say "delivering up *his soul.*" On the supposition that the Aramaic Original was "Behold for you my *soul*," i.e. my very self, and on the further supposition that the context implied a "delivering up," it would be quite natural for Greeks not only to express the intercessory martyrdom by the phrase "deliver up *the body*," but also to substitute the single word "*body*" for the single word "*soul*" as best expressing for Gentiles the meaning of the form of Institution.

But "soul," in Talmudic and Aramaic, also means a "tombstone" or "*memorial.*" Hence those who were endeavouring to bring out the full meaning of the words "Behold for you my *soul*" might urge that it also meant "Behold for you my ever present *memorial*," *i.e.* "Behold, I give you this to do for ever in memory of me." And the introduction of such a phrase into the Liturgy might be favoured by the fact that some of the Jews in celebrating the Passover were accustomed to perform a certain detail (Appendix II) "in remembrance of Hillel" (or, as one Editor says, "*saying*, 'In remembrance of Hillel'").

The words "One of you shall deliver me up," though supported by John as well as Mark and Matthew, could hardly have been omitted by Luke unless he had strong reason for thinking them erroneous: and they appear to be one of several conflations derived from the Psalmist's expression "the man of my *peace.*" "*Peace*" and (Aramaic) "*deliver up*" might easily be confused, being severally forms of *shlm.*

In Luke, "The *hand* of him that delivereth me up is *with* me," according to the usage of "*hand...with*" in O.T., and in Luke's own

writings, should mean "The hand of Him that delivereth me up [for men] is with me [strengthening me for the sacrifice]." The rest of the tradition peculiar to Luke ("table," "covenanting," "thrones") implies that the pouring out of the "soul" or spiritual "life-blood" (which is a meaning of the Hebrew "soul") is a sacrifice incumbent on the Lord's disciples as well as on Himself. The thought of the Father as "delivering Him up" is uppermost, and the "woe unto him through whom" the deed is to be done is subordinated.

The Jewish Passover Service begins with the words "*This* [*is*] (הא) the Bread of Affliction," conflated in some English translations as "*Lo, this* [*is*] the Bread of Affliction." This illustrates the hypothesis of הא in the words of Eucharistic Institution.

CHAPTER VIII

MENTIONS OF PARADOSIS AT THE ARREST

§ 1 General confusion of the narrative at this point (**1359—61**)

§ 2 Divergent mentions of Paradosis (**1362—7**)

§ 3 Mk xiv. 41 (Mt. xxvi. 45) "Delivered up into the hands of sinners" (**1368—71**)

§ 4 "Let us be going (ἄγωμεν)" (**1372—7**)

§ 5 Mk xiv. 42 (Mt. xxvi. 46) "He that delivereth me up hath drawn near" (**1378—87**)

---

§ 6 Johannine references to past Paradosis (**1388—92**)

Summary. Greek (as well as Hebrew) confusion appears to have corrupted the narrative at this point. John seems to have taken ειπον, an illiterate way of spelling the participle, as if it were imperative, so as to give "*Say* [to the Lord], 'Who is it?'" Also he mistook σημειῶ, the "*sign*" received by Judas from the soldiers, for σημαια, "*cohort*." Luke seems to have converted the words "Judas [who was] delivering him up, said," into "He [Jesus] said, 'Judas, art thou delivering up?'" Mark may have conflated נשק as "kiss" and also as "lay hold of" (comp. Ps. ii. 12 "*kiss*," LXX "*lay hold of*").

"Arise, let us be going" is omitted by Luke but inserted by John, though placed by him earlier than it is by Mark and Matthew. The imperative ἄγωμεν, "let us be going," is not alleged to occur outside N.T. except once in Epictetus: but it occurs elsewhere in Mark and several times in John, and it is found as a Hebraized word in a fable in which the beasts say to the fox, "*Let us go* [before his Majesty, the lion]."

John has "*Arise, let us go* hence" in a context that suggests "the prince of this world" as the false accuser, and the Lord as appealing to the Supreme. The single instance (at present), outside Mark and John, is of a similar nature—"*Let us go* before the proconsul." The facts suggest that Epictetus, who elsewhere speaks of the fearlessness of "the Galilaeans," is here quoting a version of some of the last words uttered by their Leader before He was led away to death.

These facts, and the fact that the perfect "hath drawn near" is never applied to a person in O.T. or N.T. but only to divine seasons or agencies, indicate that the words "*He that delivereth me up hath drawn near*" were, in the Original, "*He that delivereth me up* [i.e. the Father] *is near* [i.e. at my right hand]." This view is confirmed by traditions in John ("and yet I am not alone but the Father is with me") and in Matthew ("or thinkest thou that I cannot beseech my Father...?").

The Johannine records of words of the Lord mentioning Paradosis in dialogues with Pilate have no bearing on our subject except so far as they indicate that the Evangelist discerned in the "delivering up" something that was deeper than the treachery of Judas, something that depended on "authority."

APPENDIX I

JN xiv. 2 "MANY MANSIONS" (1393—7)

Summary. Μονή, in Greek writers, means "temporary abiding-place," "lodging." But Irenaeus quotes an ancient tradition, apparently from Papias, associating the μοναί of John with the three gradations in the Parable of the Sower ("hundred-fold" &c.). Enoch connects the "dwelling-places" of the "blessed" with the word "*portion*." And "portion," a form of מנה, i.e. *mina*, suggests the "*minae*" of Luke's parable (xix. 13), parallel to Matthew's "*talents*" (xxv. 15). Diatessaron has "*districts*" for Luke's "*cities*"; ככר means "*talent*" or "*district*"; (Mt.) πολλων may have been confused with (Lk.) πολεων; and עשר may mean (Mt.) "*substance*," (Lk.) "*ten*." The variations in the parables suggest that they were explanations of a tradition about "many μοναί."

APPENDIX II

1 COR. xi. 24 "DO THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME" (1398—1419)

Summary. The phrase "*in remembrance*" may have been used by Jews of the Dispersion, even while the Temple was standing, to mean "*in remembrance* of the Feast now being celebrated by our brethren in

Jerusalem." Schwab's translation of the Jerusalem Talmud says, "Outside Palestine (aux frontières de la Palestine) there were to be two kinds of cooked food...one *as a remembrance* of the Paschal Lamb, the other the offering of the Feast." The Babylonian Gemara says that two distinct Passover usages should be adopted, one being that of Hillel "*in remembrance* of Hillel [and his doctrine] when the Temple was standing." One Editor has, "*saying*, 'In remembrance of Hillel,'" probably a Jewish error, but a Jewish error that suggests the possibility of similar Christian errors.

The variations (both in form and order) of the remembrance-clauses in early Liturgies and quotations indicate that they were originally explanations of the Lord's words. As to the meaning of *ἀνάμνησις*, it is obscure, owing to its rarity in LXX and non-occurrence with a pronominal adjective: but the facts suggest that it may have had the force of (Jn xiii. 15) *ὑπόδειγμα* and (Jn xiv. 26) *ὑπομνήσει*, as well as a reference to "memorial-offering."

APPENDIX III

PREDICTIONS OR MENTIONS OF PARADOSIS IN GREEK **(1420—31)**

APPENDIX IV

MK viii. 32 "OPENLY" **(1432—5)**

INDICES

I. Of New Testament Passages

II. Of Subject-matter (English and Greek)

III. Of Subject-matter (Hebrew and Aramaic)

REFERENCES

(i) *Black Arabic numbers*, e.g. (**275**), refer to subsections indicated in this volume or in the preceding volumes of Diatessarica:—

1— 272 = *Clue.*
273— 552 = *Corrections.*
553—1149 = *From Letter to Spirit.*

(ii) The Books of Scripture are referred to by the ordinary abbreviations, except where specified below. But when it is said that Samuel, Isaiah, Matthew, or any other writer, wrote this or that, it is to be understood as meaning *the writer, whoever he may be, of the words in question*, and not as meaning that the actual writer was Samuel, Isaiah, or Matthew.

(iii) The MSS. known severally as the Alexandrian, the Sinaitic, the Vatican, and the Codex Bezae, are called by their usual abbreviations A, ℵ, B, and D. The Syriac version of the Gospels discovered by Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson on Mount Sinai is called in the text the "Syro-Sinaitic" or "Sinaitic Syrian," and in the notes is referred to as SS.

(iv) The text of the Greek Old Testament adopted is that of B, edited by Professor Swete[1]; of the New, that of Westcott and Hort.

(v) Modern works are referred to by the name of the work, or author, the vol., and the page, e.g. Levy iii. 343 *a*, i.e. column 1, page 343, vol. iii.

ABBREVIATIONS

A, B, and ℵ, see (iii) above.

Apol. = Justin Martyr's First Apology.

B., before a Talmudic tractate, means *Babylonian* (as distinguished from J. = Jerusalem), e.g. B. Berach. = the Berachoth in the *Babylonian* Talmud, to which references are mostly made by *leaves*, e.g. 61 *b*, i.e. the second side of leaf 61.

Buhl = Buhl's edition of Gesenius, Leipzig, 1899.

Burk. = Mr F. C. Burkitt's *Evangelion Da-mepharreshe*, Cambridge University Press, 1904.

Castell = Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton.*

Chr. = *Chronicles.*

[1] This differs greatly from that of most earlier editions, which are usually based on Codex A (*Clue* **33**).

Clem. Alex. 42 = Clement of Alexandria in Potter's pages.

D, see (iii) above.

Dalman, *Words* = *Words of Jesus*, Eng. Transl. 1902; *Aram. G.* = *Grammatik Aramäisch*, 1894.

D. and N. = *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to Jewish Interpreters*, Driver and Neubauer, Oxford, 1877.

Diatess. = the Arabic Diatessaron, sometimes called Tatian's, translated by Rev. H. W. Hogg, B.D., in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library.

Ency. = *Encyclopaedia Biblica.*

Ephrem = Ephraemus Syrus, ed. Moesinger.

Esdras, the First Book of, is frequently called, in the text, Esdras.

Etheridge = *Targums on the Pentateuch*, London, Longman, 1862—5.

Euseb. = (unless otherwise indicated) the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.

Field = Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, Oxford, 1875.

Gesen. = the edition of Gesenius now being published by the Oxford University Press.

Hamburger = Hamburger's *Encyclopaedia.*

Heb. LXX = that part of the LXX of which there is an extant Hebrew Original.

Hor. Heb. = *Horae Hebraicae*, by John Lightfoot, 1658—74, ed. Gandell, Oxf. 1859.

Iren. = the treatise of Irenaeus against Heresies.

J., before a Talmudic tractate, means *Jerusalem* (as distinguished from B. = Babylonian), e.g. J. Berach. = the Berachoth in the *Jerusalem* Talmud, referred to by chapters and sections, e.g. iii. 2.

Jer. Targ. (or Jer.) I and II = severally the Targum of "Jonathan Ben Uzziel" and the fragments of the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch. Where Jer. II is missing, Jer. I is often indicated by Jer.

K. = *Kings.*

leg. = (as in Tromm.) "legerunt," i.e. the LXX "read" so-and-so instead of the present Hebrew text.

Levy = Levy's *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1889; Levy *Ch.* = *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols., 1881.

L.S. = Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon.

Onk. = the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch.

Origen *Comm.* (Clark) = Clark's Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Edinburgh, 1897; *Comm.* (Huet) = Huet's edition, 1668.

Original, for the meaning of, see p. xxiii (*c*).

Oxf. Conc. = *The Oxford Concordance to the Septuagint.*

Philo is referred to by Mangey's volume and page, e.g. Philo ii. 234.

Resch = Resch's *Paralleltexte* (4 vols.), except where the *Agrapha*, or *Logia Jesu*, are expressly mentioned.

S. = *Samuel.*

Schöttg. = Schöttgen's *Horae Hebraicae*, Dresden and Leipzig, 1733.

Sir. = the work of Ben Sira, *i.e.* the son of Sira. It is commonly called Ecclesiasticus (see **20***a*). The original Hebrew has been edited, in part, by Cowley and Neubauer, Oxf. 1897; in part, by Schechter and Taylor, Camb. 1899.

SS, see (iii) above.

Steph. Thes. = Stephani Thesaurus (Didot).

Sym. = Symmachus's Version of the Old Testament.

Talmud, see B. Berach. and J. Berach. above.

Tromm. = Trommius' *Concordance to the Septuagint.*

Tryph. = the Dialogue between Justin Martyr and Trypho the Jew.

Walton = Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta.*

Wetst. = Wetstein's *Comm. on the New Testament*, Amsterdam, 1751.

W.H. = Westcott and Hort's New Testament.

Wünsche = Wünsche's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, Leipzig, 1880—5.

(*a*) A bracketed Arabic number, following the sign =, and connecting a Hebrew and a Greek word, indicates the number of instances in which that Hebrew word is represented by that Greek word in the LXX—e.g. חרם = *ἀναθεματίζω* (13), *ἐξολοθρεύω* (23), *ἀπόλλυμι* (2).

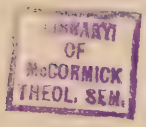
(*b*) Where verses in Hebrew, Greek, and Revised Version, are numbered differently, the number of R. V. is given alone.

(*c*) "Original"—in such a phrase as "Mark's *Original* may have had this or that"—does not mean an "Ur-Marcus," or any definite document, but the original tradition, written or oral, Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek, that Mark may have had before him when writing the particular words in question. Each Evangelist may have stamped the materials before him with his own style. But this book leaves it an open question what those materials generally were. It merely shews that, in this or that particular passage, a discrepancy between Evangelists (*e.g.* if one wrote "*delivering up*" but another "*perfecting*") might be explained by the existence of an Original (*e.g.* שלם, which in Aramaic might mean "*deliver up*" but in Hebrew "*perfect*") taken by them, or by the authorities from whom they borrowed, in these two senses. Comp. *Clue* (Introd. xvii. n.) "It is quite possible that in the written Hebrew Gospel, Aramaic words were included...and even Aramaic passages."

By "Original," then, is meant, as a rule, *relatively* (not *absolutely*) original—the immediate origin of the passage under consideration. Such an Original may itself have been derived from a more ancient origin.

(*d*) Continued study has led me to the conclusion that in the formation of our Gospels Aramaic played a larger part than I assumed in the Preface to *Clue.*

PARADOSIS



INTRODUCTION

PARADOSIS

OR

DELIVERING UP THE SOUL

THAT the words of St Paul rendered by our Revised Version "in the night in which he was *betrayed* [*by Judas*][1]" ought to be rendered "in the night in which he was *delivered up* [*by the Father as a sacrifice for sinners*]" may seem at first sight a mere detail of style. None indeed can deny that whenever the verb here rendered "betrayed" is applied to our Lord elsewhere in St Paul's Epistles, it ought not to be rendered "betrayed" but always "delivered up[2]"—that is to say, "delivered up" by the Father or by the Son Himself. Thus St Paul says that our Lord "was *delivered up*" for our trespasses, quoting from Isaiah[3]. But those who know that this is undeniable may still be disposed to ask two questions, 1st, "Why may not the Apostle have used the word here in the sense in which Jesus Himself used it in the Gospels?" 2nd, "What do you gain by the new rendering, which is a mere matter of taste?"

This treatise attempts to answer these two questions by shewing in the first place that our Lord *did not use the word in the sense of "betray" in the Gospels, when He predicted His*

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[1] 1 Cor. xi. 23. [2] See **1153—7.**

[3] Rom. iv. 25 quoting Is. liii. 12.

Passion and Resurrection, but always (*in such cases*) *in the sense of* "*deliver up.*" It will further be maintained that in those predictions He had in view that same above-mentioned prophecy of Isaiah, which was quoted by St Paul from the Greek version, "He was *delivered up* because of their transgressions," but which, in the Hebrew, meant "He *shall make intercession* for transgressors."

In the second place, it will be urged that even if our Lord had quoted from the Greek, there would have been a great difference between the prediction of a mere act of treachery ("will be *betrayed*") and an act of divine and fore-ordained "*delivering up*": but, if our Lord had in view (as He certainly had) the original meaning of Isaiah's prophecy, then He contemplated His Passion from the first as an intercessory sacrifice ("He shall *make intercession* for transgressors"). There is more in this difference than a mere matter of taste. In answer to the question "What do you gain?" the reply is, "We gain an immense help towards the recognition and sincere worship of our Lord as God. There is all the world of difference between the mind's eye of a seer fixed in a kind of second-sight on Judas, and the mind's eye of a Saviour and Son of God fixed on the inscrutable wisdom with which the Father over-rules sin and suffering so as to make them subservient to the redemption and perfection of man."

But in this correct and consistent rendering there is a further gain if we bear in mind that, where we say in English "the Lord gave *Himself*, or delivered up *Himself*, for us," a writer, or speaker, in Hebrew or Aramaic, would probably use "His *soul*" for "Him*self*[1]." Moreover, owing to the frequent interchange of the middle and the passive voices of verbs[2], there would often be little difference, either in Hebrew or Aramaic, between "being delivered up" and "delivering up one*self*" or "delivering up one's *soul*." Now,

[1] See **1326**. [2] See **1197**.

in Aramaic, "*the delivering up of one's soul*" was a phrase in regular use to express "*martyrdom*[1]." Thus, our Lord's predictions about being "*betrayed*," as it is called in our version, are shewn by successive stages of proof, to imply, 1st, "*delivering up*" (quite apart from treachery); 2nd, "delivering *oneself* up" (as distinct from involuntary suffering); 3rd, "delivering up one's *soul*," and this, too, for transgressors, in an act of intercession. This brings our Lord's predictions about Himself into line with the fundamental duty that He inculcated on His disciples, that of "losing" the "soul" that they might "find" it, or "destroying" the "soul" that they might "save it alive[2]."

More than this: the new rendering illustrates in any case the thought, and perhaps the language, of the Institution of the Eucharist. The words "this is my *body*" do not occur in the Fourth Gospel, the author of which, in his very copious exposition of Eucharistic doctrine, never mentions "body" but always "flesh." There may be more reasons than one for this Johannine deviation from the Pauline and Synoptic tradition: but a great number of facts indicate, as one reason, that our Lord used some peculiar Aramaic word—some word of many significations, not easy to sum up in one Greek word—in order to root in the hearts of the disciples the conviction that He was bestowing on them, as Clement of Alexandria says, "His complete *self*[3]." It will be shewn, in the following pages, that "*soul*," in Hebrew and Aramaic, is a word of this kind. Paradoxically enough it sometimes means "*body*" as well as "*self*." It also includes the meaning of "*life-blood*," so that it would be applicable either to the Suffering Servant of Isaiah "pouring out his *soul* unto death[4]," or to the Messiah whose "*blood*" is described by the

[1] See **1195**. [2] See **1286**.

[3] See **1330**.

[4] Is. liii. 12 "He poured out his soul unto death."

Synoptists as "poured out for many." St Paul uses it for "the very self," in his protestation of affection to his Thessalonian converts: "We were well pleased," he says, "to impart unto you...our own *souls*[1]." It also means "tombstone" or "memorial" (**1398** *a—c*) so that it might be used to imply the precept "Do this in memory of me[2]."

Isaiah, besides describing the Suffering Servant, the Redeemer of Israel, as "pouring out his soul unto death," and making "his soul an offering for sin," appears, in another passage, to inculcate a corresponding duty upon the average Israelite. "Deal thy bread to the hungry," says the prophet in the first place to each of his countrymen: but he goes on to enjoin a task more difficult—nay, impossible, if performed as a task—"*draw out thy soul* to the hungry[3]."

Similarly, in the Eucharist, when our Lord uttered (or implied) the words "Do this in remembrance of me," He meant "Do as I am doing." And what He was doing was *not a mere "dealing" of "bread" but a "drawing out" of the "soul."* This view does not deny that He also contemplated a continuous celebration of the evening meal of thanksgiving in future generations; but it asserts something more, namely, that He meant a spiritual act, "'*Draw out your souls*' to one another, and for one another, according to your ability, even as I give my soul, my complete self, delivering it up to you as a gift, and for you as a sacrifice."

There is nothing contrary to history and historical development in the belief that Christ taught this doctrine—of self-sacrifice, or losing the soul, or giving the soul as a ransom for others, or drawing out the soul to those in need of help. Isaiah taught it in one shape. Philo also taught it in another. "Every wise man," says that philosopher, "is a ransom for the bad one[4]." Would not even Tacitus or

[1] 1 Thess. ii. 8.
[2] See **1329**.
[3] Is. lviii. 7, 10.
[4] See **1285**.

Gibbon confess that a similar doctrine might be taught by a Galilaean coming chronologically between the two?

The difficulty consists, not in confessing that the doctrine is natural for noble minds, but in feeling that the practice of it, and the power of helping others to practise it, are the highest attributes of divinity. We do not realise the sublime and divine painfulness of being always just and always kind; and we have forgotten—what any dictionary might tell us—that mercy, or *misericordia*, implies a kind of "misery," and *sympathy* a "suffering with" others. Would not some of us be shocked if a modern preacher were to say that God was "afflicted" by the massacres in Macedonia or Kishineff? Yet Isaiah said something like this[1].

We ought to say it too. We need to become more, not less, anthropomorphic in our thoughts about God, after the pattern of the best anthropomorphism of the prophets of Israel and the Son of God. Never shall we apprehend the nature of true divinity nor the true divineness of Jesus of Nazareth, the Carpenter's Son, till we learn to moralize our theology, training ourselves to lay less stress on "Almighty"—an epithet characteristic of the silver age of Hebrew literature and of our Anglican Prayer Book, but never once used as an epithet of God by Him who knew Him as He is. By way of compensation, we must lay far more stress on "Wise" and "Good."

"The secret things"—and among these, the inscrutable mystery of the coexistence of creative omnipotence and sinful creatures—these things, we must learn to say, with Moses, "belong to the Lord our God[2]"; they are unpractical problems. But we have to train our spirits to recognize, as an experienced truth, of daily use in workday life, that

[1] Is. lxiii. 9 "In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them; in his love and in his pity he redeemed them; and he bare them and carried them all the days of old."

[2] Deut. xxix. 29.

the highest attribute of the Being most worthy of worship consists in the self-sacrifice and service and sorrow inherent in fatherhood, when He that made all things except evil makes Himself the nursing-father of the querulous little ones whom He carries in His arms, when He draws out His soul to the hungry, and when He afflicts Himself in all the affliction with which He constrains Himself to chasten His children for their good.

This is the most comforting and strengthening of all beliefs. It is a great thing to have an intellectual conviction that we shall ultimately find God to have been, from the beginning—in spite of all appearance to the contrary—Almighty: but it is far greater to feel already certain in our heart of hearts that He is All-wise and All-merciful, and that a Christian must discern in Him, through Christ, not only a God Almighty but also "a God of sorrows and acquainted with griefs."

If we do not hesitate to speak, with Isaiah and Jeremiah, of the "soul" of God, then we shall be the better prepared to think of God the Son, in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, as breaking His heart and pouring out His blood for us; and as pleading with us to do the same for others, after the measure of our poor ability, so as to fulfil His "law," the law of "bearing one another's burdens[1]." And if such a view of the Eucharist should be so firmly established by rational criticism that after the lapse of some two or three generations the world was forced to accept it, would the world be the worse for the change? As it is, nation has been divided against nation, church against church, cities have been sacked, vast regions devastated with fire and sword, myriads of Christians subjected by Christian rivals of Caiaphas to almost every conceivable torture except that of the Cross—and all because they differed as to the meaning of the words "This

[1] Gal. vi. 2 "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ."

is my body," and as to the duty implied in "Do this"! Could all these miseries have come to pass, and would not many other miseries and sins have been averted, if men had held fast to the old belief that Christians were "the people that loved one another," that the precept of the Eucharist was, in effect, "Love one another as I love you," and that the gift bestowed in the Eucharist consisted in the bestowal of Christ's "soul" or "complete self" upon the believer, so as to make him a partner, to some slight extent, in Christ's divine and purifying work—whether it be called "drawing out," or "pouring out," or "delivering up" one's soul, or "giving" it as a "ransom," or "laying down" one's "life," or "bearing the sins and infirmities" of others, or "washing their feet," or "making intercession for transgressors[1]"?

[1] It is worth noting how the fine Greek instinct and theological insight of Chrysostom extricate him almost entirely from the rendering "betrayal"—derived from the Synoptists and perhaps, in Chrysostom's time, almost riveted on students of the Epistles—in his commentary on the Eucharistic narrative in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (ed. Field, p. 333), "And wherefore does he remind us of the season, and of that [well-known] evening and of the *betrayal* (*προδοσίας*)?" His first answer is, that it was to melt our hearts by recalling "how He was *delivered up*, how He was bound, how He was led away prisoner, how He was judged, how He suffered each suffering in succession." So far, he takes the Synoptic view of the word. But now Chrysostom continues: "Wherefore he brings all these details to our minds...saying, Thy Master *delivered up His very self* (*καὶ ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκεν*) for thee:...for indeed even to-day it is He that worketh all things and *delivereth up* [all things, *i.e.* both Himself and the tradition of the Eucharist]...and on that very night on which also He was to be slain as a sacrifice for us, He gave these commands, and, having *delivered up* to us that Supper, He added nothing further after that."

Compare this with (1) Meyer, "In the night in which His betrayal was going on (hence not the aorist). It is a deeply solemn and arresting thought, contrasted with the frivolity displayed among the Corinthians at the Agapae," or (2) Stanley, "*The word παρεδίδετο in the sense of 'betrayal' is curious, as following on παρέδωκα, in the sense of 'communicated'; but its frequent occurrence in the Gospel narrative for the Betrayal leaves no doubt that such is its sense here"!*

The words I have italicized would better run as follows: "*The word*

παρεδίδετο *in the sense of* '*betrayal*' *is almost impossible, as following on* παρέδωκα *in the sense of* '*delivered*,' *and as being contrary to invariable Pauline usage elsewhere*" (**1154–6**): "*and the present passage, being certainly earlier than the Synoptic Gospels, suggests that the word, after* A.D. 50–7, *was erroneously taken to mean* '*betray*' *in many instances where it meant* '*deliver up*.'"

If the reader will refer to **1387** *a*, he will find more than a dozen quotations from very ancient Liturgies which have "on the night on which He *delivered Himself up*," or "was *delivered up for the life and salvation of the world*," or, at all events, some clause clearly distinguishing the meaning from "on the night on which He was *betrayed*." If any Liturgy in the Christian Church commits itself (as our Anglican Liturgy does) to the rendering "*betrayed*," *by using a word confined to that meaning, such as* προδοῦναι *or* "*prodere*," *it must be a quite exceptional error.* See **1209** *c*, **1214** *b*.

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIAN MENTIONS OF PARADOSIS[1]

§ 1. *"Betray" or "deliver up" in the Gospels*

[1150][2] THE Greek word used to express the "*betrayal*" of Jesus by Judas Iscariot means literally "deliver up," "hand down," or "hand over." Hence it comes to mean "deliver [up to the authorities]," "hand over [to an officer, or magistrate]"; and in this sense it is used of the arrest and imprisonment of John the Baptist, where it is freely translated by A.V. "put in (or, cast into) prison," but by R.V. "*deliver up*[3]." The R.V. is here more literal than A.V. and expresses the ambiguity of the Greek. For "*deliver up*" may be applied, not only to a traitor "delivering up" his Master, but also to citizens "*delivering up*" a hostage, or even to the Father "*delivering up*" His Son for us all.

[1151] There was treachery in Judas, delivering up his Master to the chief priests, but none in the priests, delivering

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[1] **[1150** *a*] "Paradosis," *i.e.* "delivering (up)" in any sense, "delivering (to custody)," "delivering (tradition)" &c. This convenient noun will be used hereafter as corresponding to the verb "deliver (up)."

[2] See References: **1149** was the last subsection of the third part of this series, *From Letter to Spirit.*

[3] Mk i. 14, Mt. iv. 12. Lk. iii. 20 says that Herod "shut up (*κατέκλεισεν*)" John in prison, Jn iii. 24 has "John was not yet cast into prison (*βεβλημένος εἰς τὴν φυλακήν*)."

up Jesus to Pilate, so that the same word is differently translated by A.V. in the very same sentence in Matthew, "The Son of man shall be *betrayed* unto the chief priests... and [they] shall *deliver* him to the Gentiles[1]." But there is no excuse for the inconsistency of A.V. in the prediction of Paradosis connected by Mark and Matthew with Galilee. For in Matthew's version of this it gives "betray," but in Mark's parallel version "deliver[2]." It may be added that A.V. also has "betray" in a third prediction of Paradosis peculiar to Matthew[3].

[1152] The R.V. has "deliver up" consistently in all the Gospels so far as concerns predictions of Paradosis made before the Last Supper. But when it comes to that event and to the predictions then made with an apparently special reference to the betrayal by Judas, it agrees with A.V. in using the word "betray" (which it also mostly uses elsewhere in connexion with the act of Judas)[4].

§ 2. *"Betray" or "deliver up" in the Acts and Epistles*

[1153] In the Acts, Peter says to the Jews "ye *delivered up* (so A.V. and R.V.)" Jesus, namely to Pilate, and adds "ye killed the Prince of life[5]"; but in a previous speech he says "him, *being delivered up* (A.V. om. *up*) (ἔκδοτον) *by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God*, ye, by the hand of

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[1] Mt. xx. 18—19.

[2] Mk ix. 31, Mt. xvii. 22. Curiously enough, in Mk x. 33, parallel to the above quoted Mt. xx. 18—19, A.V. uses "deliver" both for the act of Judas and for the act of the chief priests.

[3] Mt. xxvi. 2.

[4] [1152 *a*] The first instance of the word in this connexion is Mt. x. 4 where R.V. gives a general warning of the double meaning as follows: "Judas Iscariot, who also *betrayed him*," marg. "Or, *delivered him up*: and so always."

[5] Acts iii. 13, 15.

lawless men, did crucify and slay[1]," which suggests that *God "delivered up" Jesus to be a sacrifice for men, using as His agents the Jews, who, in turn, used the Romans as theirs.* On the other hand, Stephen's speech calls the Jews "*betrayers* (προδόται)[2]" of Jesus—a term (**1151**) applicable to the treachery of Judas but not to the open hostility of the chief priests.

[**1154**] Passing to the rest of N.T., we find no mention of "delivering up" or "betraying," applied to Jesus, except in the Pauline Epistles and once in the First Epistle of St Peter. The latter describes Jesus as our example "who... *delivered up* (R.V. *committed*) [*himself*, or, *his cause*] to him that judgeth righteously[3]." St Paul has the following: "The Son of God, who loved me and *delivered* (R.V. *gave*) *himself up* for me[4]," "He that spared not his own Son, but *delivered him up* (so too R.V.) for us all, how shall he not also with him freely give us all things[5]?" "Even as Christ also loved you and *delivered* (R.V. *gave*) *himself up* for us an offering and a sacrifice to God[6]," "Even as Christ loved the Church and *delivered* (R.V. *gave*) *himself up* for it[7]."

[**1155**] From these four instances of the active verb we might infer that the Apostle would take the word passively also in the same sense, namely, "was delivered up" by the Father as a sacrifice or ransom for men, and that this was the meaning in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (xi. 23) "The Lord Jesus, in the night in which he was *delivered up* [*as a sacrifice*] (but R.V. *betrayed*), took bread." "Delivered up" gives prominence to the meaning of sacrifice or ransom, which seems in harmony with the context, whereas "betrayed" obtrudes the treachery of "the son of perdition." The former view is supported by the only other Pauline instance of the passive: "who was *delivered up* (so R.V.; A.V. om. *up*) on

[1] Acts ii. 23. [2] Acts vii. 52. [3] 1 Pet. ii. 23.
[4] Gal. ii. 20. [5] Rom. viii. 32. [6] Eph. v. 2.
[7] Eph. v. 25.

account of our trespasses and was raised on account of our justification[1]."

[**1156**] Peculiar importance attaches to this last extract because the Apostle is quoting from the LXX version of Isaiah's description of the Suffering Servant, which thrice applies this Greek word to the Sufferer: "The Lord *delivered him up* for (*lit.* to) (dat.) our sins...his soul *was delivered up* unto death...and he *was delivered up* on account of their transgressions[2]."

Thus the last quoted Pauline passage (Rom. iv. 25) proves, directly, two things, 1st, that the Apostle, in that particular passage, when he writes "delivered up," means "*delivered up by God*," 2nd, that, when he writes thus, he has in mind Isaiah's prophecy. But indirectly, it goes far towards establishing a third conclusion, namely, that *whenever the Apostle speaks of Christ as "delivered up," he has in mind the Suffering Servant, and means "delivered up by God."* And when we add to this evidence that of the previously quoted Pauline passages, we are led to the conclusion that the Apostle in every instance uses the word concerning God or Christ as the agent, and never concerning Judas.

[**1157**] But if this is so, then the combined evidence of all these Pauline passages—not to speak of the Petrine Epistle and one of the Petrine speeches quoted above (**1153-4**)—indicates that during a very early period of Christian teaching, before the Gospels were committed to writing, the "delivering up" of Jesus was supposed—at all events, by some—to mean, primarily, not the treacherous

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[1] [**1155** *a*] Rom. iv. 25. In Gal. i. 4 "gave himself for our sins," 1 Tim. ii. 6 "gave himself a ransom," Tit. ii. 14 "gave himself for us," the Greek, being δίδωμι, is correctly rendered "give"; but in the instances quoted above (**1154**) it is παραδίδωμι, *i.e.* "give up" or "deliver up." "Give" implies simply a gift; "give up" (or, "deliver up") implies often the surrender of a city, or hostage, or the sacrifice of something precious.

[2] Is. liii. 6, 12.

"delivering up" by Judas, but the divine, pre-destined, and predicted "delivering up" of the Son by the Father to be a ransom, or sacrifice, for mankind. And this conclusion raises questions of great interest. Among these, the first is, What evidence, if any, exists to shew that the same prophecy that influenced St Paul's doctrine influenced other early Christian writers? A second is, What evidence, if any, exists to shew that this prophecy (Is. liii. 12, and its context) would naturally give rise, or actually did give rise, to varying interpretations? Our next business must be to study in detail the early Christian traditions about Christ's predictions of His Paradosis, and to ascertain whether they afford internal evidence for tracing them back to Isaiah. Finally we must endeavour to approximate to the doctrine of Christ Himself as deduced from the whole of the evidence.

§ 3. *Early Christian reference to the "delivering up" in Isaiah*

[**1158**] The First Epistle of Peter has been shewn above (**1154**) to use the word "deliver up" concerning Christ. But it was not added there that the clause comes as one of a group of quotations from Isaiah's prophecy about the Suffering Servant, in such a position as to suggest that the writer was referring to Isaiah's phrase if not actually quoting it[1]. Again,

[1] [**1158** *a*] 1 Pet. ii. 22–5. (*a*) *ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ* (Is. liii. 9 (nearly as LXX))...(*b*) *τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν* (Is. liii. 12, but LXX *πολλῶν* for *ἡμῶν*)...(*c*) *οὗ τῷ μώλωπι ἰάθητε* (Is. liii. 5, but LXX *ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν*)...(*d*) *ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι* (Is. liii. 6, LXX *πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν*). Between (*a*) and (*b*) come, in the Epistle, the words *ὃς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδόρει, πάσχων οὐκ ἠπείλει, παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως*. The words underlined ("delivered up to him that judgeth") might at first sight appear merely a paraphrase of Isaiah's description of the Sufferer as a silent lamb. But the LXX version of the prophecy contains also a mention of

the Acts of the Apostles not only quotes at great length from what we may call, for brevity, *The Suffering Servant*, but also indicates that it was regarded as being obscure to converts. An official in high position under Queen Candace is introduced as reading the words (with their sequel) "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter." He is asked, "Understandest thou what thou readest?" and he replies "Why, how could I, unless some one will give me guidance[1]?"

[**1159**] The First Epistle of Peter introduces its group of quotations from Isaiah with a mention of "suffering," thus: "For to this also ye were called because also Christ *suffered* for you." Subsequently it says that He "*suffered* for us in the *flesh*[2]." Similarly Barnabas, in connexion with quotation from Isaiah, describes Christ as "*suffering* for our soul" and "*suffering* by the hand of man[3]." He begins by saying, "For to this [end] did the Lord endure to *deliver up His* (*τὴν*) *flesh to destruction* that by the remission of sins we might be purified, which [purification] consists in 'the blood of His

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"delivering up" in the immediate context—following closely on the expression (*d*) "we like sheep have gone astray"—(Is. liii. 6) Κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτόν "The Lord delivered him up," (R.V.) "The Lord hath laid on him..." We shall hereafter find that Justin (**1161**) omits "Lord;" and, as ΑΥΤΟΝ may mean either "him" or "himself," it is possible that Justin took it in the latter sense, "He delivered Himself up." Even those Christians who inserted "Lord" might—though unjustifiably—interpret it as meaning that "the Lord [Jesus] delivered up himself."

[**1158** *b*] Having regard to these variations in quotations from the prophecy, and to the fact that the Apostle seems to be quoting phrase after phrase from *The Suffering Servant*, we appear justified in considering it as by no means improbable that the Epistle, in the phrase about "delivering up," is quoting a tradition based not on a paraphrase but on a translation of Isaiah.

[**1158** *c*] The full quotation is in R.V. (liii. 6) "the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all," and in LXX "the Lord delivered him up for (*lit.* to) (dat.) our sins." On "to" or "for" see **1162** *b*.

[1] Acts viii. 30—33, including a quotation of Is. liii. 7—8.

[2] 1 Pet. ii. 21, iv. 1.

[3] Barn. v. 5.

sprinkling[1].'" This statement he proceeds to justify from Isaiah: "For it is written concerning Him, partly with reference to Israel[2] but partly with reference to us, and the words run thus: 'He was wounded on account of our transgressions and enfeebled on account of our sins. By his stripe we were healed. As a sheep he was led to slaughter, and as a lamb silent before the shearer[3].'" This shews that Barnabas, when mentioning the "delivering up" of the Messiah in connexion with the Suffering Servant, takes the act as a sacrificial one performed by the Saviour Himself, not by Judas. "*Deliver up his flesh*," in Barnabas, appears to correspond to "*deliver up*" (without an object) in the First Epistle of Peter, and to "*deliver up himself*," or "*was delivered up* [*by God*]," in the Pauline traditions (**1154–5**).

[**1160**] Justin Martyr quotes from Isaiah the whole of the description of the Suffering Servant both in his *Apology* and in his *Dialogue*, but with some remarkable differences in the former. Like Peter, he prefixes a mention of "suffering" to his quotation from the prophet: "But that also, having become man for us, He endured to *suffer* and to be dishonoured, and that He will come again with glory, hear the prophecies to this effect. They are these: 'Because *they* (? THEY[4]) *delivered up* His soul to death and He was reckoned with the transgressors, [therefore, or, thereby] He hath taken [on Himself] the sins of many and *shall make propitiation*

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[1] Barn. v. 1. "Sprinkling" perh. refers to Is. lii. 15 (but see LXX).

[2] [**1159** *a*] Comp. Barn. vii. 5 ἐμέ, ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν μέλλοντα τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ καινοῦ προσφέρειν τὴν σάρκα μου, "when purposing to *offer up my flesh* for the sins of my *new* people," *i.e.* the New Israel, the Gentiles. This indicates, 1st, that παραδοῦναι, "delivering up," prepares the way for προσφέρειν, "offering up," 2nd, that questions may have arisen as to the scope of the words "my people," "transgressors," "we all" &c. Did they mean Israel? or the Gentiles? or the human race? or Christians?

[3] *Ib.* v. 2.

[4] On THEY meaning "God" in Heb. tradition, see **738**.

for (lit. *to*) (dat.) *the transgressors*[1].'" This differs both from the Hebrew and from the LXX, which agree in making "because" introduce the reason for what precedes ("He shall divide a portion with the strong, *because*..."). Again, instead of Justin's "*they* (?) delivered up his soul," the Hebrew has "*he* poured out his soul," but LXX "his soul *was* delivered up." But in the last clause ("*make propitiation for* (lit. *to*) (dat.)"), Justin agrees substantially with the Hebrew "*make intercession for* (lit. *to*) (ל)," against the LXX "*delivered up on account of* (διὰ)."

[1161] But what is especially worthy of notice is, that, after having thus quoted the last verse of the 53rd chapter of Isaiah in a form of his own, Justin proceeds to quote the whole of the chapter and more (lii. 13—liii. 8, foll. by liii. 8—12); and *now he agrees with the LXX version of the last verse* (as in most of the verses, except in liii. 6 (LXX) "*the Lord delivered him up*," where he has "*he delivered up him*[*self*]")[2]. Thus we find, in the first extant Christian work (150 A.D.) that quotes *The Suffering Servant* at full length, the following variations—which may be conveniently compared here with the Hebrew—from the Paradosis of the LXX:—

Isaiah liii. 6, 12

Heb. (R.V.)	LXX	Justin (*Apol.*)
[1162] (6) "*the Lord hath laid on him* the iniquity of us all."	"*the Lord delivered him up* for (*lit.* to) (dat.) our sins[3]."	"*He delivered up* (?) *him*(*self*) for (*lit.* to) (dat.) our sins[3]."

[1] *Apol.* 50 Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος παθεῖν καὶ ἀτιμασθῆναι ὑπέμεινε, καὶ πάλιν μετὰ δόξης παραγενήσεται, ἀκούσατε τῶν εἰρημένων εἰς τοῦτο προφητειῶν. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα· Ἀνθ' ὧν παρέδωκαν εἰς θάνατον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη, αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν εἴληφε καὶ τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐξιλάσεται. As regards "to" or "for," see below (1162 *a*, *b*).

[2] [1161 *a*] *Apol.* 50–1. See above (1158 *a*), where it was pointed out that ΑΥΤΟΝ might mean "him" or "himself." By omitting "Lord," Justin makes it natural to interpret "he" as meaning the Servant, who is repeatedly mentioned in what precedes.

[3] [1162 *a*] It is impossible to say with certainty what the LXX and

Heb. (R.V.)	LXX	Justin (*Apol.*)
(12 *a*) "because *he poured out* his soul unto death."	"because his soul *was delivered up* unto death."	(1) "because *they delivered up* his soul unto death." (2) as LXX.
(12 *c*) "and *he made intercession* (פגע) for (*lit.* to) (ל) the transgressors[1]."	"and on account of their transgressions *he was delivered up*."	(1) "and for (*lit.* to) (dat.) the transgressors *he shall make propitiation*." (2) "and on account of their transgressions *he himself was delivered up*."

[1163] In his *Dialogue*[2], Justin agrees (as to these passages) with the LXX. But taken altogether, the deviations of the LXX from the Hebrew, and of Justin from both, make it highly probable that in the second century, and still more in the first, great differences of opinion existed among Christians as to the language fit to express the agency, or instrumentality, that brought about the Paradosis of Christ[3].

Justin mean by their dative. But in view of the facts in the following note, it seems probable that it means "for," "on account of," *i.e.* in order to blot out our sins.

[1] [1162 *b*] The Heb. "to" (-ל) is used, even with verbs of speaking, to mean "speak *about*, *for*, *in behalf of*" &c.: and פגע is thus used, in Gen. xxiii. 8, with ל, LXX περί, (R.V.) "entreat *for* me." This occasionally extends to Greek (927 *b*) as in Deut. xxxiii. 8 &c. τῷ Λευεὶ εἶπεν, where a Greek would naturally render "He said *to* Levi." But it means "*concerning* Levi."

[2] *Tryph.* 13.

[3] [1163 *a*] Comp. *Apol.* 63 "He endured also to suffer such things as were wrought [upon] Him by *the devils* that He should be [shamefully] treated by the senseless Jews (ὅσα αὐτὸν ἐνήργησαν οἱ δαίμονες διατεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνοήτων Ἰουδαίων)."

[1163 *b*] The Indices to Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, give very few references to those portions of the LXX which mention "*delivering up*" in connexion with the Suffering Servant. Irenaeus

never quotes the verses in question. Origen (*Cels.* i. 54) quotes a fairly long extract including the words "delivered up to (or, for) our sins," but makes no comment on the phrase. Clement (138) quotes it once, but adds a comment thus: "'*The Lord delivered him up to* (or, *for*) *our sins*' —that is, manifestly, to be a corrector and chastiser of the sins (διορθωτὴν δηλονότι καὶ κατευθυντῆρα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν)."

CHAPTER II

PARADOSIS IN CONNEXION WITH ISAIAH

§ 1. *Two mentions of "delivering up" in the Targum on Isaiah*

[1164] We have found (**1162**) the LXX thrice introducing Paradosis into the description of the Suffering Servant. In one of these instances, the Hebrew itself ("laid on him the iniquity of us all") does not express voluntary vicarious suffering: nor does the LXX. In a second (Is. liii. 12 *c* Heb. "made intercession," Gk. "was delivered up") the notion of voluntariness, apparent in the Hebrew, disappears in the Greek[1]. In a third instance (Is. liii. 12 *a*), the LXX, besides substituting "*deliver up*" for "*pour out*," destroys the notion of voluntary vicarious suffering by changing the active to the passive. It will be seen that here the Targum agrees with the LXX as to the *verb*, "deliver up," only retaining the correct *voice* ("*delivered up*" against the LXX "*was delivered up*"). Here are the three versions:—

Isaiah liii. 12 *a*

Heb.	Targ.	LXX
"Because *he poured out* his soul unto death."	"Because *he delivered up* (מסר) his soul unto death."	"Because his soul *was delivered up* unto death."

[1] The Targum, as will be seen (**1174**), has "And to the rebellious it shall be forgiven for his sake."

[**1165**] The word (מסר) here used by the Targum is perhaps (Gesen. 588 *a*) non-occurrent in the Bible, but is frequent in New Hebrew and Aramaic. It means "deliver" in any sense, and hence sometimes "deliver to magistrates, enemies &c.," implying betrayal. But here, since it is applied to the Sufferer *delivering up His own soul*, betrayal is out of the question.

[**1166**] But now let us consider another passage where the Targum, still using this word (מסר), describes the Sufferer as being "delivered up," while the Hebrew and the LXX make no mention of it:

Isaiah liii. 5

Heb. (lit.)	Targ. (lit.)	LXX
"But he [was] *wounded* (מחלל participle of חלל[1]) from our transgressions, *bruised* (מדכא participle of דכא) from our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace [was] upon him, and with his stripe he was for a healing[2] to us."	"But he shall *build* [again] the House of the Sanctuary which *was profaned* (אתחל, from חלל[1]) by our sins [and] WAS DELIVERED UP by our iniquities; and by his instruction peace shall increase on us, and according as we give ear to his words our sins shall be forgiven to us."	"But he was wounded on account of our sins and hath been enfeebled on account of our transgressions: the chastisement (or, instruction) of our peace [was] upon him, by his stripe we were healed."

[**1167**] Here the LXX adheres to, but the Targum departs from, the Hebrew. Attempting to explain the departure,

[1] [1166 *a*] Note that חלל in Bib. Heb. = "*wound*" (*as well as* "profane"), but in Targ. Heb. *only* "*profane*" (*never* "wound"). The same word is used here in two different senses by the Hebrew and Aramaic versions. Aquila renders it *βεβηλωμένος* here.

[2] Buhl (786 *a*) "*es* wurde uns zur Heilung," Niph. of רפא.

we might be disposed to say that all the variations of the Targum—which, throughout the chapter, *regards the persecuted nation of Israel, scattered among the Gentiles, as the Sufferer*—are simply baseless alterations of the text to suit what may be called "the National Hypothesis." This would be an error. For (1) חלל, in Aramaic, means "*profane*," and not "wound"; (2) in Aramaic, דכא does not mean "bruise" but "purify[1]," and this very word is applied elsewhere to the purification (which might be called a restoration) of the Temple in a Targum on Chronicles[2], "We have *purified* (דכינא) the whole of the House of the Sanctuary." Hence the Targumist (with the aid of a little prepossession) may have honestly taken "*wounded* from our transgressions *bruised*" as "*profaned* by our transgressions [but] *purified* [*and restored by the Messiah*]," which last expression he may have paraphrased as "build [again]" and transposed to the beginning of the sentence. No doubt the Targumist may have been also actuated by a desire to deprive Christians of an interpretation ("wound") that would suggest the Crucified One. Still he may have had a textual basis for his rendering[3].

[1] Levy, *Ch.* i. 174 *b*.

[2] 1 Chr. xxix. 18.

[3] [**1167** *a*] In support of this view we may quote another instance in *The Suffering Servant* where this very word is used by the Hebrew, and where the LXX itself adopts the rendering "purify":

Is. liii. 10

Heb.	Targ.	LXX
"And Jehovah was pleased to *bruise* him (דכאו) making him sick (החלי) when his soul (R.V. marg.) shall make an offering for sin."	"And it was the pleasure of Jehovah to refine (מצרף) and to *purify* (דכאה) the remnant of his people for the sake of (ברזיל) cleansing from sins their souls."	"And the Lord desireth to *purify* him from the blow (*i.e.* from his plague); if ye give [an offering] for sin, [y]our (**1199** *a*) soul..."

§ 2. *One of these seems based on a various reading*

[1168] The last section shewed that "deliver up" was introduced by the Targum (in the New Hebrew form, מסר) in one instance (Is. liii. 5) where it was not to be found in the Hebrew or Greek; but no attempt was made to shew the reason. This must now be considered separately. For, since it has appeared that the Targum may have had a textual basis for its deviation as to two points (the "building of the House of the Sanctuary," and its "profanation"), we start with a presumption that some similar basis will be found for the variation now to be considered:

Isaiah liii. 5

Heb. (lit.)	Targ. (lit.)	LXX
"...[bruised] from our iniquities *the chastisement of* (מוסר, verbal n., from יסר, "instruct," "chastise") our peace [was] upon him and with his stripe he was for a healing to us."	"[He shall build] ...*was delivered up* (אתמסר from מסר) by our iniquities and *by his instruction* (אולפניה) peace shall increase on us, and according as we give ear to his words our sins shall be forgiven to us."	(Nearly as Heb.)

[1169] As to the words bracketed above, it was shewn (1167) that the Biblical Hebrew דכא "*bruise*" seems to have been taken by the Targumist as "*purify*," and to have been paraphrased by him as "build [again]" and transposed to the beginning of the sentence. On this hypothesis, the Targumist would have before him "*from our iniquities the chastisement*" as though these words were connected together. Now the word מוסר (from יסר) "*chastisement*" is identical with מוסר (from אסר "*bind*"); and יסר, though it means "*chastise*" in Biblical Hebrew, means "*bind*" in Aramaic and

Targum Hebrew. This latter meaning might suggest "putting in prison," "delivering up to captivity" &c. Or, by dropping *vaw*, the Targumist would obtain מסר, the regular word for "*delivering up*." Thus he might convert "*from our iniquities the chastisement*" into "*from* (i.e. *by*) *our iniquities delivered up*."

[1170] But further, the Targumist appears to have conflated this rendering with another, in which he takes the word as meaning "instruction." The Hebrew מוסר may mean discipline in the way of *chastisement*, or discipline in the way of correction, which might be called *instruction*: and the corresponding LXX παιδ(ε)ία has both these meanings[1]. So the Targum adds here "*instruction*" as well as "delivered up." Thus it treats the Messiah as a Teacher of Peace, who imparts to others, by means of instruction, the Peace and Wisdom that are in Himself. Lastly the "stripe" is regarded as inflicted, not *on* the Messiah but *by* the Messiah, by "the rod of His mouth[2]," by His instruction and rebuke, according to the saying in Proverbs, "*Stripes* that wound *cleanse away evil*; and *strokes* [*reach*] *the innermost parts of the belly*[3]," i.e. the secret thoughts of the heart. This is paraphrased by the Targum as meaning that, if we give heed to the "stripes" of His rebuke, the evil of our hearts will be "cleansed away," or "our sins shall be forgiven to us."

[1171] The whole of the Targum deserves study as shewing how textual ambiguity or corruption may combine with doctrinal prepossession to modify tradition; but the most important point, in a discussion bearing on Paradosis, is that מסר, "deliver up," may be interchanged with forms of אסר, "bind," and יסר, "chastise."

[1] Comp. Lk. xxiii. 16, 22 "I will therefore *chastise* him (παιδεύσας)."

[2] Comp. Is. xi. 4 "He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth."

[3] Prov. xx. 30.

§ 3. *"Deliver up" in Greek twice corresponds to a form of "meet (פגע)" in Hebrew*

[**1172**] It has been stated above (**1164**) that the LXX, in two of the three places where it connects Paradosis with the Suffering Servant, somewhat misrepresents the Hebrew. It would certainly mislead any reader that was unable, from his knowledge of the Hebrew, to supply a great deal that could not be supplied from mere knowledge of the Greek. If we add to the Greek ("was delivered up") the words "by his own will, as a ransom," we then introduce the notion (which is in the Hebrew) of mediation or intercession; but not otherwise.

[**1173**] Possibly the LXX may have intended some such clause to be supplied; but it is more probable that they mistranslated the Hebrew word here rendered by them "deliver up." This is, in these two cases, פגע, a word frequently ambiguous, or obscure, whose radical meaning is "*meet*," whence it branches out into (1) *hostile* "meeting" expressed by "fall upon," "attack," "collide"; (2) *friendly* "meeting"; (3) *intercessory* "meeting," as when a prophet "goes to meet" God in pleadings for man, or when a Hubert of Calais goes with the rope round his neck "to meet" a conqueror and save a city[1]. Some of the difficulty of the

[1] [**1173** *a*] Forms of פגע occur in five passages of Isaiah (including liii. 12 *c*). (1) Is. xlvii. 3 "I will *accept* (R.V. marg. '*make truce with*, Heb. *meet*') no man," LXX "I will no longer *deliver* (*? surrender*) (παραδῶ) to men," (2) Is. liii. 6 "and the Lord *hath laid* (R.V. marg. 'Heb. *made to light*') on him the iniquity of us all," LXX "and the Lord *delivered* (παρέδωκεν) him to (*or*, for) (dat.) our sins," (3) Is. liii. 12 *c* "*made* (marg. '*maketh*') *intercession* for (**1162** *b*) transgressors," LXX "*was delivered up* on account of their transgressions," (4) Is. lix. 16 "He wondered that there was no *intercessor* (marg. 'none to *interpose*')," LXX "He considered and there was no one *to help* (ὁ ἀντιλημψόμενος)," (5) Is. lxiv. 5 "Thou *meetest* (marg. '*sparest*') him that rejoiceth," LXX "*he will meet with* (συναντήσεται)...."

word will appear from the following different versions of the two passages where the Hebrew word occurs in *The Suffering Servant*. In both passages, the verb is Hiph. or causative. But in the former, it will be found rendered by R.V. "laid on him" (literally "caused to collide with him, or, to fall upon him," in sense (1) above-mentioned). In the latter, it is taken by R.V. not causatively but intensively as "*make intercession*" (in sense (3)). It should be especially noted that the LXX uses "delivered up" in two contexts that might easily be combined or confused, namely (1) "*to* (or, *for*) our sins," (2) "*on account of* their transgressions."

(i) Isaiah liii. 6

Heb. (lit.)	Targ.	LXX	Sym.
[1174] "And Jehovah *caused to meet* (or, *strike*) on him the iniquity of us all."	"And it was the pleasure of Jehovah to *forgive* the sins of all of us for his sake."	"And the Lord *delivered him up to* (or, *for*) (dative) our sins."	"But the Lord *caused to meet* (or, *fall*) (καταντῆσαι) *on* (εἰς) him the transgression of us all."

(ii) Isaiah liii. 12 *c*

Heb. (lit.)	Targ.	LXX	Sym.
"And to (*i.e.* for) the transgressors *he made intercession.*"	"And to the rebellious *it shall be forgiven* for his sake."	"And on account of their transgressions *he was delivered up.*"	"And he *stood in opposition to* the disobedient (τοῖς ἀθετοῦσιν ἀντέστη)."

Justin (*Apol.*)	Anon. (Field, *Hex.*)
"And *shall make propitiation to* (i.e. *for*) the (τοῖς) transgressors[1]."	"And *made onslaught against* (κατέδραμεν) [the transgressors]."

[1] [1174 *a*] *Apol.* 50 τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐξιλάσεται. No instance is alleged by L.S. of ἐξιλάσκομαί τινι "I make propitiation *for*." In LXX περί, in this sense, is the regular preposition. In Ezek. xvi. 63 ἐν τῷ ἐ. μέ σοι κατὰ

Here, somewhat paradoxically, where the Hebrew (liii. 6) has no dative, the LXX has one; but, where the Hebrew (liii. 12) has a dative ("to transgressors"), the LXX has a preposition ("on account of"). This requires further examination.

§ 4. (LXX) "*He was delivered up on account of their transgressions*"

[**1175**] It has been pointed out (**1162** *b*, **1174**) that the Hebrew preposition "to (-ל)" appears to mean "concerning" in the phrase "make intercession *to*, i.e. *for*, transgressors." In Isaiah, the context makes the meaning clear, but in other contexts (**1162** *b*) it might be obscure. We have seen that Symmachus and an anonymous interpreter take the preposition as in "go *to*," only in a hostile sense "*go to meet* as an enemy" (Sym. "stood in opposition to," Anon. "made onslaught against"). Probably Justin, in his *Apology*, when using the above-quoted (**1174** *a*) version of Isaiah, unique in the ante-Nicene Fathers, meant by it "make propitiation *for* transgressors" (as in R.V.); but it is conceivable that the *original author* may have meant "and he shall be given up *to* transgressors as a propitiation [for them]."

[**1176**] But the question as to the preposition ("to," "for," or "because of") is closely connected with others that must inevitably have occurred to Christians using this obscure prophecy in controversy with Jew and heathen, and applying it to Christ—especially if they combined the LXX "delivered up to (*or*, for) our sins" with "delivered up on account of

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πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησας means, not "when I make propitiation for thee," but "(lit.) when I (God) *have forgiven to* (-ל) thee [A.V. *am pacified toward* thee] for (-ל) all that thou hast done." Justin's rendering seems to attempt to render the Heb. dative literally. The nearest approach I have found in the LXX to Justin's expression is Deut. xxi. 8 ἐξιλασθήσεται αὐτοῖς τὸ αἷμα, where however the meaning is passive, "the blood shall be forgiven to them."

their transgressions." Who "delivered up" the Messiah? Was it the Father, or Judas Iscariot, or the Jews? And *to* whom was He delivered up by one of these three agencies? Were they Jews or Gentiles? Or—if the alternative preposition be adopted—*for* whom was He delivered up? For the transgressing Jews? Or for the Gentiles that unconsciously transgressed the Law? Or for all transgressors? The Greek word used by Justin for "transgressors" (and the corresponding word used by the LXX for "transgressions") means "without the law," and appears to be applied to Gentiles by St Paul[1], and also by St Peter in Acts (ii. 23), "This man by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God being delivered up *by* (διά) *the hand of transgressors*[2] ye nailed to [the cross] and slew." The unpunctuated English represents the ambiguity of the Greek, which leaves it doubtful whether it was the delivering up, or the crucifixion, that took place "by the hand of transgressors." Commentators generally assume that the Jews are here said to have crucified Jesus "by the hand of" the Romans. And it may be so. But compare:—

Mk xv. 15	Mt. xxvii. 26	Lk. xxiii. 25
"But Pilate willing to satisfy the multitude ... *delivered up* Jesus, having scourged him, to be crucified."	"But Jesus, having scourged him, he [*i.e.* Pilate] *delivered up* [unto them] to be crucified."	"But Jesus he [*i.e.* Pilate] *delivered up* to their will."

[**1177**] This suggests another view, namely, that Pilate, the ruler of the Gentiles, and representative of the Prince of this world, was used by God as His agent or instrument

[1] 1 Cor. ix. 21.

[2] [**1176** *a*] The commentators take this as meaning "the Romans." R.V. has "lawless men," marg. "men without the law." Comp. Wisd. xvii. 2 ἄνομοι, the Egyptians, contrasted with "the holy people" (Israel), 1 Macc. ii. 44, iii. 5, 6 the oppressors of the Jews (called *ib.* iii. 8 ἀσεβεῖς).

so that "*by the hand of*" Pilate Jesus was delivered up to be crucified. And this leads us to ask whether "*by the hand of*" might spring up in connexion with Isaiah's phrase "*to*, or, *for*, transgressors," out of an attempt to express the meaning of the preposition more exactly.

§ 5. "*By the hand of transgressors*"

[**1178**] In fact, such a tradition ("by the hand of") might arise from a Hebrew or Aramaic gloss adopting the interpretation of the LXX "delivered up *to*" and expressing it by a frequent Hebrew idiom "delivered *into* (lit. *in*) (-ב) *the hand of*." *For this is identical with "by the hand of*[1]." Thus, an Aramaic or Hebrew tradition of Jewish Christians, combining "delivering up" with "crucifying," and saying that the Messiah "was delivered up, to be a sacrifice on the Cross, *in*(*to*) the hands of *transgressors*," might be converted into a tradition that He "was delivered up, and crucified, *in*, or *by*, the hands of *Gentiles*" (who transgressed as being "*without* Law") or else "by the hands of Jews" (who transgressed by *breaking* the Law).

[**1179**] That these difficulties perplexed Christian commentators in very early times, appears both from Justin and

[1] [**1178** *a*] "*In* (ב) the hand of," when it means "*by*," is mostly used where God *sends a message*, or *saves* Israel, "*in* the hand of" a prophet or leader. In an exceptional case like that of the Suffering Servant, where God might be supposed to be delivering up the Sufferer for the purpose of "saving" mankind, ἐν χειρί might be applied by some to the transgressors *through whom God* worked out the scheme of salvation. Others, disliking this, might apply it to the Gentiles, *through whom the Jews* achieved their evil purpose, though the evil was over-ruled to serve the divine will.

[**1178** *b*] Ezr. ix. 7 "We were delivered up *in*(*to*) (ב) the hand of the kings," LXX "*in* the hand," is parall. to 1 Esd. viii. 74 "we were delivered up *to* (dat.) the kings." Comp. Ezr. i. 8 "brought them forth *by* (על) *the hand of* (LXX ἐπὶ χεῖρα) M." parall. to 1 Esd. ii. 10 "delivered them up *to* (dat.) M." R.V. confesses an ambiguity in Ezr. viii. 33 (txt.) "was weighed *into* (על) *the hand of* M.," marg. "*by* the hand," LXX ἐπὶ χεῖρα.

from Origen. We have seen above (**1163** *a*) that Justin describes our Lord as enduring "such things as were wrought upon Him *by the devils* that He should be [shamefully] treated by the senseless Jews," implying (it would seem) that the Son was delivered up by the Father to *Satan* (as Job is said to have been in the Old Testament). Then Satan might be said to have delivered Him up, through Judas Iscariot, to the Jews. Origen, at all events, expressly asserts this: "He was not delivered up *by men* into the hands of men, but *by powers* to whom the Father delivered up His Son for us all[1]"; and previously, "The Son is first delivered up by God...to the Prince of this world and to the rest of its princes, and then by them delivered up into the hands of the men that were destined to slay Him[2]." And he warns us against confusing the two kinds of "delivering up": "Take care lest, by ranking (*συνεξετάζων*) the delivering up of the Son by the Father to the opposing powers along with their delivering up of the Saviour into the hands of men, you suppose the delivering up in the two cases to be equivalent[3]."

[**1180**] The Targum renders "transgressors" by a word that means "rebel." Possibly the Targumist may have been influenced by a reaction against Christian interpretations which, basing themselves on such a version as that in Justin's *Apology* ("men without the Law"), might assert that the Messiah died for *the Gentiles*[4]. But it must be added that the Targumist has right on his side. The Biblical Hebrew word here used does not mean "ignorant of the Law" but "rebellious against the Law," which would better apply to Israelites than to Gentiles[5].

[1] *Comm. Matth.* Clark, p. 480, Huet, vol. i. p. 314 E.

[2] *Ib.* Clark, p. 480, Huet, vol. i. p. 313 E.

[3] *Ib.* Clark, p. 480, Huet, vol. i. p. 314 C.

[4] Comp. Rom. v. 6 "Christ died for [the] impious (*ἀσεβῶν*)."

[5] [**1180** *a*] Is. liii. 12 *c* "transgressors." The Hebrew word here used is פשע (Gesen. 833 *a*) "rebel," "transgress." The rendering of the LXX is *ἀνομία*, "transgression." But the adj. *ἄνομος* most frequently corre-

§ 6. *The substitution of "trespasses" for "transgressions*[1]*"*

[**1181**] St Paul's words in the Epistle to the Romans, "He was delivered up on account of our trespasses," are printed by W.H. as a quotation from the LXX of Isaiah except in respect of "our": but in fact the LXX has "He was delivered up on account of *their transgressions*," so that the Apostle has not only altered "*their*" into "*our*" (a necessary adaptation) but also substituted a new word to describe the nature of the sins[2]. The reason for the alteration probably is that he wishes to use some word that implies a temporary *lapse, or slip, that may be forgiven.* Similarly, although the Lord's Prayer in Matthew's version says, "Forgive us our *debts*"—perhaps literally translating the Aramaic word actually used by our Lord, and actually employed by the Targum on *The Suffering Servant*[3]—Matthew goes on to say, "For if ye forgive men their *trespasses*." In doing this he is probably following Mark

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sponds to רשע, used (Buhl 792, רשע) "von bösen Feinden in und ausser dem Lande, Is. xiii. 11, xiv. 5, Hab. i. 13, vgl. רשע, Ps. cxxv. 3, und *οἱ ἄνομοι* f. die Heiden 1 Makk. ii. 44, iii. 5."

[1] [**1181** *a*] "Trespasses," *παραπτώματα*: "transgressions," *ἀνομίας*. These distinctive renderings will be preserved throughout the present section.

[2] [**1181** *b*] Is. liii. 12 *c* *ἀνομίας*, but Rom. iv. 25 *παραπτώματα*. It is possible that St Paul had also in mind the LXX of Is. liii. 6 "The Lord delivered him up for (dat.) *our* sins (*ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν*)" (Justin (**1162**) "he delivered him(self) for (dat.) *our* sins"), which the Apostle may have paraphrased as "He was delivered up on account of our trespasses." But the context, "raised again on account of our justification," rather suggests that the Apostle has mainly in view the last words of *The Suffering Servant* (Is. liii. 12) which describe triumph ("he shall divide spoils with the strong") as the consequence of being "delivered up." Even if St Paul has both passages in view, we still have to ask, Why does he use the word "*trespasses*"? For the LXX does not use the word in either passage.

[3] Is. liii. 5 Heb. "transgression (פשע)," Targ. "debt, or, sin (חובא)," liii. 6 Heb. "iniquity (עון)," Targ. "debt (חובא)."

(Luke omits the passage)[1]. The Pauline usage almost always connects "trespass" with the notion of forgiveness or ultimate redemption, and the *Didaché* twice connects it with confession[2].

[**1182**] Some alteration (of the LXX's "transgressions") was absolutely necessary; for the Greek word *ἄνομος*—though technically applied by the Jews to all Gentiles as being "without Law," *i.e.* without the Law of Moses, and though once or twice used thus in N.T.—conveyed to Greeks the meaning of unnatural crime. By the Tragedians it is used along with *ἄθεος*, and the two together suggest an "outcast from the laws of God and man[3]." Hence, in the second century Greek translations of the Old Testament, no variations are perhaps more frequent and more striking than those which render the Hebrew words expressing different shades of sin[4];

[1] Mk xi. 25–6, Mt. vi. 14—15.

[2] Rom. v. 15—20 (6 times), xi. 11—12, 2 Cor. v. 19, Gal. vi. 1 &c.; *Didach.* iv. 14, xiv. 1.

[3] [**1182** *a*] See Eur. *Bacchae* 995, *Andr.* 491. Comp. Herodot. i. 162 *ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ* "an unnatural banquet," namely, the flesh of a man's own son; and 2 Peter ii. 8 *ἀνόμοις ἔργοις*. Hence, when St Paul describes himself as *ἄνομος*, he adds (1 Cor. ix. 21) *μὴ ὢν ἄνομος θεοῦ*.

[4] [**1182** *b*] For example, take some of the variations in connexion with the instances where Aquila renders the word "transgression," פֶּשַׁע, by *ἀθεσία* (*i.e.* "setting at naught [the Law]"). The context, in all of them, mentions "forgiveness," repentance, preaching with a view to repentance, &c.:—

פֶּשַׁע, "transgression," Aq. *ἀθεσία*.

		LXX	Theod.	Sym.	E′	S′
Gen.	l. 17	*ἀδικίαν*	—	—	—	—
Ps.	xxv. 7	*ἀγνοίας*	—	*παραπτώματα*	—	*ἀσεβείας*
,,	xxxii. 1	*ἀνομίαι*	—	*ἀθεσία*	*ἀσεβεῖαι*	*ἁμαρτία*
,,	xxxii. 5	*ἀνομίαν* (so ℵA: but txt. *ἁμαρτίαν*)	—	injustitiam (? *ἀδικίαν*)	—	—
Prov.	xix. 11	*παρανόμοις*	—	*ἀδίκημα*	—	—
Is.	liii. 5	*ἁμαρτίας* (ℵAQ *ἀνομίας*)	—	—	—	—
,,	lviii. 1	*ἁμαρτήματα*	*ἀδικίας*	*ἀσεβείας*	—	—
,,	lix. 20	*ἀσεβείας*	*ἀδικίας*	(?) *ἀσέβειαν*	—	—
Dan.	ix. 24	*ἁμαρτίαν*	*ἁμαρτίαν* + *παράπτωμα*	—	—	—

and hence, in the first century, when there were passing into the Christian churches of the West, through the LXX, the statements that the Lord delivered the Messiah "to, *or*, for, our *sins*," and that the Messiah was delivered up "on account of our *transgressions*," we may well suppose that the variations of vocabulary were still more numerous.

[**1183**] It follows from these facts that any early Messianic tradition about "transgressors," ANOMOI, would be liable to various alterations, arising partly from a desire to correct a misleading expression, and partly from doctrinal considerations, among which one of the chief would be the desire to explain that those who were redeemed were not merely the vilest and most unnaturally sinful of mankind, but sinners generally, and indeed all mankind, since all men had fallen into sin. The most obvious alteration would be to substitute the Gospel word, "sinners." Others, who desired to adhere to the text, might take advantage of the similarity between ANOMOI and ANOI[1], the regular abbreviation for ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ, "men," and say that Jesus was "delivered up *to men*." Others might conflate the two and say "delivered up *to sinful men*[2]."

[**1182** *c*] To these add two instances where Aquila renders by "transgression," *ἀνομία*, the word עון, rendered "iniquity" by R.V. in Is. liii. 6 "the Lord laid on him the *iniquity* of us all":

Ps. xxxii. 5 "*iniquity* of my sin," Aq. (and simil. Theod.) *ἀνομίαν ἁμαρτίας μου*, LXX *ἀσέβειαν τῆς καρδίας μου*, Sym. *τὴν ἄνομον ἁμαρτίαν μου*.

Amos iii. 2 "your iniquities," Aq. *ἀνομίας*, LXX *ἁμαρτίας* (al. *κακίας*), Theod. *ἀσεβείας*, Sym. *ἀδικίας*.

[**1182** *d*] Yepheth ben Ali said (Driver and Neubauer, p. 25) "By פשע are denoted great sins, such as sorcery, incest, divination, and similar abominations: by עון [lighter] sins, like theft, robbery &c." This does not seem to agree with the meaning of פשע in the passages above mentioned where Aq. renders it *ἀθεσία*.

[1] [**1183** *a*] This may perhaps explain Zeph. i. 3 "man," *τοὺς ἀνόμους*.

[2] [**1183** *b*] A desire to explain how Jesus could be "numbered among the *ἄνομοι*" may have suggested the interpolation in Mk xv. 27 precisely at the point where the "malefactors" are described as being on each side of Him.

[**1183** *c*] In the *Acts of John* the following curious passage seems to

These possibilities have a bearing on passages—to be considered later on—in the Synoptic Gospels.

[**1184**] In meeting the attack that Celsus made upon the morality of the Apostles, Origen conjectures that the controversialist perhaps took as his basis a statement of Barnabas that Jesus chose "men transgressing beyond all transgression[1]," where the Greek text now has "transgressing beyond all sin," and the Latin "sinners beyond all sin." In the preceding context, Barnabas[2] quotes verses from the early part of Isaiah's fifty-third chapter, and it is therefore not unlikely that he has in view some tradition about Christ's

attempt to explain that "He was delivered up to the *transgressors*" means "to the *Jews*," and to shew why they are called by that title: (§ 11) "But before He was arrested by the *transgressing* (*ἀνόμων*) Jews,... having gathered us all together He said, 'Before I am *delivered up to them* let us sing a hymn to the Father....'" Here one text (instead of simply "the transgressing Jews") has "*the transgressing Jews who also were under the law-giving of the transgressing serpent* (*τῶν ἀνόμων καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνόμου ὄφεως νομοθετουμένων Ἰουδαίων*)," where the play on the words might be retained thus, "The Jews *without Law* who were also under *the Law* of the Serpent that is *without Law*." The sense, and the omission of the clause in one text, combine to prove that it was an interpolation. Some scribe asked himself, "How could *Jews* be called '*without Law*'?" Then he answered the question in the margin by saying that they were indeed "under the Law," but it was the Law of the Lawless Serpent (so that they might fairly be described as "without Law"). Then this clause, "under the Law of the Lawless Serpent," was incorporated in the text. In representing Jesus as saying "Before I am delivered up *to them*," and in previously defining "*them*" as "*the transgressing Jews*," the writer of the *Acts of John* may have had in view a combination of Is. liii. 6 (as in LXX, "*delivered up* to sins") and liii. 12 *c* (as in Justin (**1174** *a*) "make propitiation *to* (i.e. *for*) *transgressors*"), so as to make "*delivered up to transgressors*."

[**1183** *d*] We have seen above that Justin speaks of Jesus as (**1163** *a*) suffering at the hands of the *ἀνόητοι Ἰουδαῖοι*. Possibly *ἀνόητοι* may be applied to them as being blind to the truth. But in view of the v.r. in Sir. xxi. 19 *ἀνοήτοις* (A *ἀνομία τοῦ*), it is possible that it may be a correction of *ἄνομοι* facilitated by corruption.

[1] *Cels.* i. 63 *ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν* (Barn. v. 9 *ἁμαρτίαν*) *ἀνομωτέρους*, Lat. "super omne peccatum peccatores."

[2] Barn. v. 2, quoting Is. liii. 5, 7.

"making intercession for *transgressors*," like Justin's rendering (**1174**) of the last verse of that chapter. But if Origen was right in his conjecture that Celsus had in view this hyperbolical utterance of Barnabas, then the facts supply an illustration of the disadvantage of this early Christian use of ἄνομοι, since it might lead the enemies of the Church, like Celsus, to impute to believers the most unnatural crimes.

§ 7. *Greek and Hebrew renderings of Is. liii.* 6, 12

[**1185**] The following Hebrew renderings or paraphrases of portions of *The Suffering Servant* are taken from the work of Driver and Neubauer on that passage. The corresponding Greek versions are prefixed for the purposes of comparison. The extracts include the contexts that contain παραδίδωμι, "deliver up[1]."

[1] [**1185** *a*] I have excluded the extracts from *Zohar* and from the *Mysteries of Simeon ben Jochai*—included by the Editors in deference to the wishes of Dr Pusey—because the doubt as to their genuineness is even greater than their poetic beauty. They may however contain very ancient traditions, and their method of poeticizing history may throw light on the Fourth Gospel. Take, for example, Ben Jochai's alleged prediction (based on Isaiah) concerning the attempt of Israel to stone their Messiah (D. and N. p. 32):—"And afterwards the Holy One will reveal to them Messiah, the son of David, whom Israel will desire to stone, saying, Thou speakest falsely; already is the Messiah slain, and there is none other Messiah to stand up (after him): and so they will despise him, as it is written, 'Despised and forlorn of men'; but he will turn and hide himself from them, according to the words, 'Like one hiding his face from us.'"

[**1185** *b*] Compare with this, Jn viii. 59 "They *took up stones therefore to cast at him: but Jesus was hidden* (R.V. txt. *hid himself*) *and went out of the Temple.*" If the saying of Ben Jochai were genuine, it might indicate that a great Jewish Rabbi and a great Disciple of the Lord Jesus poeticized contemporarily. More probably the alleged saying of Ben Jochai was written many centuries after the Fourth Gospel. Perhaps the Jew borrowed from the Christian. But if that was the case, would not the Jew have followed the Christian in quoting Is. liii. 1 "To whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?" or Is. vi. 10 "Shut their eyes" (comp. Jn xii. 38, 40)? If the Jew and the Christian poeticized independently, the phenomena are interesting as illustrations of the growth of legend.

i. LXX, Aq. Theod. and Sym.

[1186] (verse 6) (LXX) "And the Lord *delivered him up* (פגע) *to* (or, *for*) (dative) *our sins.*" (Sym.) "And the Lord *made the iniquity of us all to meet upon him.*"

(12) (LXX) "*.....his soul was delivered up unto death*, and he was reckoned[1] among the transgressors[2], and he himself up-bore[3] the sins of many, and *on account of their transgressions he was delivered up* (פגע) (Sym. "*he resisted the disobedient*")[4].

Unfortunately, in these two passages, the rendering of פגע by Aquila and Theodotion is not extant; but there is no reasonable doubt that they, like Symmachus, would have refused to follow the LXX in its paraphrastic or erroneous rendering, "delivered up."

[1187] The rendering of Symmachus ("resist") would tend to dissociate "intercession" or "delivering up (as ransom)" from the last words of the chapter. Those Christians who used the version of Symmachus alone, would be prevented from recognizing any reference to "delivering up (as ransom)" not only in the Synoptic use of "delivered up" when applied to Jesus, but even in the Pauline (Rom. iv. 25) quotation from Isaiah (liii. 12).

ii. Targum of Jonathan

[1188] (6) "but it was the Lord's good pleasure to *forgive the sins of all of us for his sake.*"

(12) "*.....he delivered up his soul to death*, and made the rebellious subject to the Law: he shall intercede for many sins, and *the rebellious for his sake shall be forgiven.*"

"All of us" refers to the Jews alone, and so, probably (1180), does "rebellious."

[1] Aq. Sym. "was numbered."

[2] Theod. "held aloof from the impious."

[3] Ἀνήνεγκεν, Aq. ἦρεν, Theod. and Sym. ἀνελάβετο.

[4] Sym. τοῖς ἀθετοῦσιν ἀντέστη.

iii. Talmud of Babylon, *Sotah* 14 *a*

[1189] (12) "'.....*he poured out his soul to die*,' he was ready to die, as it is said, (Ex. xxxii. 32) 'But if not, blot me, I pray thee...': 'he was numbered with the transgressors,' for he was numbered with those who died in the wilderness: 'he bore the sin of many,' because he atoned for the making of the golden calf: '*he interceded for transgressors*,' because he sought for mercy towards those that had transgressed in Israel that they might turn to repentance—for פגע means merely to *pray* or *intercede*, as Jer. vii. 16."

The "transgressors" are those of Israel, and the Suffering Servant is Moses.

iv. R. Sa'adyah Gaon

[1190] (6) "And God *laid upon him the iniquity of us all*."

(12) "...*he laid bare his soul unto death*, and [was numbered] with the transgressors [; and he bare the sin of many, and] *made intercession* [*for the transgressors*]." [The copyist is said by the Editors to have omitted the bracketed words by error.]

v. Yepheth Ben 'Ali

[1191] (6) "'And the Lord *laid on him the iniquity of us all*.' The prophet does not by עון mean *iniquity*, but *punishment* for iniquity, as in the passage, (Numb. xxxii. 23) 'Be sure your sin will find you out.'"

(12) "'...*he laid bare his soul to die*' is analogous to 'he was led like a sheep to the slaughter.'... And the last words '*make intercession for the transgressors*' mean that being associated with them in the misery arising from the exaction of tribute and other similar causes, he will pray for their deliverance as well as his own."

The phrase "exaction of tribute" indicates that the "transgressors" are Jews suffering under oppression.

vi. R. Sh'lomoh Yizhaqi (Rashi)

[1192] (6) "Yet the Lord *let himself be entreated by him* (*asprier*, in French) (*sic*) *and propitiated for the iniquity of us all*, in that he refrained from destroying his world."

(12) "...*he poured out* (הערה as Gen. xxiv. 20) *his soul to die*, and was numbered with the transgressors, *i.e.* endured punishment as though he had been a sinner or transgressor himself, and for the sake of others bore the sin of many. And in virtue of his sufferings—because through him the world received prosperity—*he interceded for the transgressors.*"

"The world" suggests that Rashi extended the benefit of intercession to the Gentiles.

vii. R. Abraham Ibn 'Ezra

[1193] (6) "הפגיע is from פגע, Gen. xxviii. 11; and עון is here used in the sense of *penalty* for sin, as 1 S. xxviii. 10, Gen. xv. 16, Lam. iv. 6. Others render הפגיע *made to intercede*, cf. Jer. vii. 16, understanding עון in its usual acceptation of iniquity; the sense of the whole will then be that Israel interceded with God, in order that there might be peace in the world, cf. Jer. xxix. 7; but עון in this case agrees but harshly with הפגיע בו."

(12) "the meaning is rather this: 'I will give Israel a portion of spoil...as a reward for his having *poured out his soul to die.*' Some, however, explain הערה in the sense of *uncover, expose openly*.... He also '*interceded for the transgressors*,' i.e. the Gentiles; as it is said (Jer. xxix. 7) 'And seek ye the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives.'"

Ibn 'Ezra regards "the Gentiles" as "the transgressors," and Israel, scattered over the world, as "making intercession" for them.

[**1194**] These extracts are placed in the order assigned to them by the Editors. Sa'adyah and Yepheth ben 'Ali (tenth century) and Rashi (eleventh century) are, of course, very much later than the Talmuds: but their remarks illustrate the kind of questions and discussions that would arise in the first and second centuries as soon as Jews and Christians began to discuss the application of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah to Jesus of Nazareth[1].

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[1] [**1194** *a*] The other extracts given by the Editors are also well worth studying for the light they throw on Jewish thought, and occasionally on passages, or interpolations, in the Gospels. For example, the interpolated legend about Jesus eating "*a honeycomb*" in Lk. xxiv. 42 (R.V. marg.) may be explained as a variation of the words in Isaiah about "pouring out his soul," thus (p. 9): "Midrash Rabbah (Deut. xxiii) '*I have eaten my honeycomb with my honey*' (Cant. v. 1): because the Israelites *poured out* their soul to die in the captivity, as it is said (Is. liii. 12) 'Because he poured out his soul to die.'" And a note explains the connexion as follows, "There is a play here on the word יער, 'honeycomb,' which, by the similarity of sound, recals the expression הערה, 'pour out,' employed by Isaiah." Probably Christians would connect this prophecy not only with the pouring out of the soul, but also with the pouring out of the blood in the Eucharist.

[**1194** *b*] Comp. 1 S. xiv. 27 (Field) "in *defluxione* (ביערת)," LXX εἰς τὸ κηρίον, "to the *honeycomb*" (Sym. τὴν ἀπόρρ[οιαν]).

CHAPTER III

JEWISH TRADITIONS OF PARADOSIS

§ 1. *"Delivering up" in Jewish tradition*

[1195] THE Targum on Isaiah twice mentions "delivering," thus:—

(1) (Is. liii. 5) "He will build up the Holy Place, which has been polluted for our sins and *delivered up* [to the enemy] by our transgressions."

(2) (Is. liii. 12) "He *delivered up* his soul to death and made the rebellious subject to the Law."

These two passages illustrate two distinct meanings of the verb (מסר), 1st, delivering up to custody, destruction &c., 2nd, delivering up oneself as a hostage or martyr. In this second sense the word is so common that "delivering up of the soul" is mentioned by Hamburger as a regular term for martyrdom[1]. But this is completely lost in the LXX as follows (Is. liii. 12):—

Heb.	Targ.	LXX
"He *poured out* his soul unto death."	"He *delivered up* his soul unto death."	"His soul *was delivered up* unto death."

Here the LXX would naturally be interpreted in the first of the two above-mentioned senses, as implying involuntary delivering up, whereas the real sense implies voluntary delivering up, or martyrdom.

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[1] *Real-Encycl. Suppl.* p. 98, "Märtyrer," מסירת נפש.

[**1196**] The same confusion, or possibility of it, appears in the only certain instance[1] where this late Hebrew word (מסר) occurs in the Bible (Numb. xxxi. 5), "There were delivered up...a thousand of every tribe." The meaning is, "reported, enrolled, selected, to serve in war"; and Onkelos expresses this by "they were chosen." But the Jerusalem Targum —no doubt influenced by the regular use of the word to mean self-devotion—conflates the rendering of Onkelos with another: "There were chosen, *and delivered up their souls*," i.e. risked their lives.

[**1197**] The danger of confusing voluntary martyrdom with involuntary arrest in translation from Hebrew is very great, because in many verbs the passive and the middle voices are not easily distinguished. For example, in Biblical Hebrew, the passive (Niphal) of the verbs "defile" and "sell" frequently has a reflexive meaning, and the LXX frequently has "shall be defiled," "shall be sold," where the meaning is "shall defile, or sell, himself[2]." The same ambiguity attaches to the voices in New Hebrew and Aramaic, and there are instances extant to shew that the word with which we are now dealing (מסר) was among these ambiguous verbs[3]. In Isaiah above (liii. 12), the LXX has not the excuse of an ambiguous voice, and yet it turns an active into a passive. Much more easily might a Greek translator commit this error in other cases, so as to turn such a declaration as, "The Son of man will *deliver himself up*" into "The Son of man *will be delivered up*."

[**1198**] It should be added that in the other portions (not quoted above) of Isaiah's chapter there is no distinct

[1] The doubtful instance (Gesen. מסר) is in Numb. xxxi. 16.

[2] [**1197** *a*] See Lev. xxi. 3, 4; xxv. 39, 47, 48, 50 (LXX, thrice passive, once middle). The Niph. of שמר "observe," "keep," is always reflexive in the instances given by Buhl (860 *b*) (exc. perh. in Ps. xxxvii. 28 where Buhl would read שמד).

[3] [**1197** *b*] Levy (iii. 178 *a*) quotes two instances of the Ithp. of מסר, one middle, one passive in meaning.

expression of voluntary and intercessory death, either in the Greek translation or in the Hebrew and Aramaic comments. The Targum says (verse 7) "*The mighty of the peoples* he [*i.e.* Israel] will deliver up like a sheep to the slaughter," and the *peoples*, or *Gentiles*, are "like a lamb dumb before her shearers," and most of the sufferings of the Servant are similarly metamorphosed; "he delivered up his soul to death" means "he was ready to die[1]"; and, generally, the Jewish comments regard the Sufferer either as a great Lawgiver, or as a Rabbi saving his rebellious countrymen by his instruction, or else as the Nation itself, saving the Gentiles by diffusing among them the knowledge of the one God. The Jerusalem Talmud, it is true, refers the words "I will allot him a portion with the many" to R. Akiba; and he happens to have been a martyr. But the Talmud makes no reference to the martyrdom:—"This refers to R. Akiba who introduced the study of the Midrash, the Halakhoth, and the Hagadoth[2]."

[**1199**] As to the LXX, we have seen (**1164**, **1195**) how, by the erroneous use of the passive voice, it changes a voluntary act to one that might be involuntary. But there is another passage that, at least according to the marginal reading of R.V., might express vicarious self-sacrifice: (Is. liii. 10) "When his soul shall make (R.V. text, thou shalt make his soul) an offering for sin." This the LXX renders "*If ye give* [an offering] for sin, [y]our[3] soul shall see...," thus destroying the only remaining possibility of understanding the prophet's meaning. The result is, that although the LXX does preserve the notion of a sacrifice, there is nothing to prevent its being interpreted as one of those

[1] [**1198** *a*] *Sotah* 14 *a* (D. and N. p. 8) referring to Moses, "*Because he poured out his soul to die:* he was ready to die, as it is said, 'But, if not, blot me, I pray thee,' etc. (Exod. xxxii. 32)."

[2] Jer. Talm. *Shekalim* v. 1 (Schwab, v. 292). D. and N. p. 7.

[3] [**1199** *a*] "Your," so ℵAQΓ. (B "our," ἡμῶν for ὑμῶν, a freq. error.)

sacrifices of an unwilling victim with which Rome and Greece were familiar.

[1200] Between these two views (the rabbinical and the heathen) a third is possible, which may have been the prophet's: namely that the Sufferer—by that mysterious power of "drawing out the soul" to others which Isaiah elsewhere[1] mentions as a secret of righteousness—actually "poured out" His soul, self, or spirit, for, and into, His countrymen, in what we should now term "posthumous influence." How this might be developed—in accordance with the facts of human nature called in modern times psychology—into a true and well-based belief in the objective influence of the Spirit of the Son of man upon the spirits of the sons of men, is not a matter that can be discussed here. But the points to note are these, 1st, that it is antecedently as well as textually probable that our Lord (and His disciples) referred to Isaiah's prophecy, 2nd, that if He did, He would not take either the heathen or the rabbinical interpretation (the former, because it is immoral, the latter, because it does not go to the heart of the prophet's meaning), 3rd, that if He took one different from both, not only would He Himself be liable to be misunderstood by His disciples during His life, but also the disciples themselves would be liable to be misunderstood in turn by Jewish and Gentile converts after His resurrection, 4th, that these causes would naturally result in non-spiritual interpretations of the words of the Lord concerning His "delivering up."

§ 2. *Inferential anticipations*

[1201] Before proceeding to the predictions of Paradosis in the Synoptists, and to such expressions in the Fourth Gospel as may seem to correspond to the Synoptic predictions, it will be well to summarize the results of the

[1] Is. lviii. 10, see **1285** *b*.

preceding investigation, and to deduce inferential anticipations, arguing as follows. If the LXX, Aquila, and the other translators, if the Talmuds and the Targums, and the later Jewish commentators, in the circumstances special to them, rendered the Biblical language about the Suffering Servant thus and thus, how might we expect it to be rendered by the authors of the Synoptic Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles, and the Fourth Gospel?

[**1202**] The Apostle Paul, writing to Greeks, might be content to use the LXX tradition that expressed the intercessory sacrifice by the phrase "delivered up," because he mostly makes it clear by his context—and, though it has not *proved* clear, he probably *thought* it clear when describing the Eucharistic sacrifice and employing the phrase "on the night on which he was delivered up[1]"—that the "delivering up" is a divine act of self-sacrifice or service, whether on the part of the Father, or on the part of the Son.

[**1203**] But the earliest Evangelists, receiving brief predictions of "delivering up," some in Greek, in which the notion of intercessory martyrdom was obscured or lost, and some in Aramaic or Hebrew, in which intercession was expressed, might fall into error when attempting to combine them. For example, an Aramaic tradition might emphasize the fact that Jesus said, "*on account of the sons of men*"—or, to His disciples, "*on account of you*"—"I shall be delivered up." Now the Hebrew, or Aramaic, for "*on account of*," בגלל, is very similar to בגליל, which might mean "*in*(*to*) *Galilee*" (**1228**). Greek translators, unprepared for the notion of intercession, might take the word in this latter sense, and might assert (as Mark and Matthew do) that Jesus connected the words "*in*(*to*) *Galilee*" with His predictions of suffering and resurrection, so as to console them by saying that He would go before them "*into Galilee*[2]."

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 23.

[2] Comp. Mk xvi. 7, Mt. xxviii. 7, referring to Mk xiv. 28, Mt. xxvi. 32.

[**1204**] Others, as Luke[1], might interpret thus—as they thought, with literal exactness—Jesus *said in Galilee* "I shall be...," *so as to make Galilee the mere place of prediction.* And this view is favoured by Mark and Matthew so far as this, that they declare the first prediction of Paradosis to have been made "*in Galilee*" or "*in passing through Galilee*[2]." Others, adopting the Synoptic tradition "I will go before you *into Galilee*," but taking a more correct view of גלל, as meaning "*on your account*," might render it, as John[3], "I will go *to prepare a place for you.*" A full discussion of these points will be found later on (**1215–39**).

[**1205**] Again, other Evangelists might be influenced by the desire to shew that "delivering up" implied a great deal more than mere delivering into custody. These might also be perplexed by various traditions as to the persons "*for* whom," or "*to* whom," or (**1178**) "*by* whose hand," or "*into* whose hand," the Messiah was to be delivered. The former motive might lead an Evangelist to say that the delivering up implied condemnation to death, and actual death: the latter might cause the introduction of defining clauses (**1245**) such as "Gentiles," "men," "chief priests and scribes" &c., all or any of which might seem to be implied in Isaiah's "transgressors." Under such circumstances, we ought not to be surprised if the third of the Synoptists omits, as unhistorical, some of the clauses inserted by his predecessors: and, omitting these, he might naturally lay more stress on things that seemed more important, so that we cannot be surprised if the same Evangelist, Luke, both in his Gospel and in the Acts, brings out more clearly than Mark and Matthew the fact that the "delivering up" proceeded from the foreordained purposes of God.

[**1206**] Another way of bringing out the martyr-meaning of "delivered up" would be to introduce some of the details

[1] Lk. xxiv. 6.
[2] Mk ix. 30, Mt. xvii. 22.
[3] Jn xiv. 2.

of Christ's passion. These would generally be the "spitting" and the "scourging" mentioned by Isaiah. But, if these details did not proceed from Jesus Himself, we should expect them to vary in the different Synoptists; nor could we be altogether surprised if one Evangelist transferred from the margin into the text some such gloss or explanation containing a mention of the Roman punishment of crucifixion[1], as though this had been a part of Christ's own prediction.

[1207] Passing from these actual mentions of Paradosis we must not altogether omit certain possibilities (suggested by the New Hebrew מסר) that the word may be latent in some parts of the Gospels where it is not expressed. For example, we have found above (**1169–70**) that the Targum on Isaiah appears to confuse or conflate the word with the very similar one meaning "chastisement": and some confusion of this kind may have facilitated the above-mentioned introduction of "scourging" &c. Again, the word regularly used in Syriac for "*deliver up*" is not מסר but שלם, which in Hebrew would more commonly mean "to perfect" or "accomplish": and there is a remarkable passage peculiar to Luke in which our Lord predicts that He will be "*perfected*[2]." It is possible that here, and perhaps elsewhere, there is some confusion between these two words.

[1208] But there remains another anticipation—namely, that some Evangelist might altogether omit the predictions of Paradosis. Such an omission, at first sight, seems very startling. Yet having regard to the false or inadequate views suggested by the phrase "deliver up," and to the various traditions about the accompaniments of the "delivering up," and about the persons to, or for, or by, whom the "delivering up" was to be effected, we ought not to pronounce it beyond the scope of a reasonable anticipation that one of the latest of the recognized Evangelists, writing before the canon was

[1] Mt. xx. 19, xxvi. 2. [2] Lk. xiii. 32.

quite settled, might venture to depart altogether from the Synoptic traditions on this point. In such a case, we should think it probable that the Evangelist would strictly *confine the Greek word to such a context as would make it clear that it referred to nothing but the delivering up by Judas, and that he would use other and quite different words in our Lord's predictions of His intercessory sacrifice.*

[**1209**] This is the course actually adopted by John. From the first, he uses the word in his own person (not putting it into the mouth of the Lord) to point to Judas (no less than six times) as the future betrayer of his Master. On no occasion does our Lord use the word (in the Fourth Gospel) until the night when He was on the point of being delivered up by Judas, so that the words come, hardly as a prediction, but as a mention of an imminent and almost half-commenced act: "One of you will deliver me up.... What thou doest, do quickly." Thus, by a significant silence, John seems almost to say, "Though the Lord knew of the future 'delivering up' by Judas, *He never spoke of it in the language so frequently attributed to Him in the predictions of the Passion contained in the early Gospels. It would have been well to restrict the word 'deliver up' to the act of the Father. Since it has been associated almost entirely in the Greek Gospels with the act of Judas, it will be most truthful to represent Jesus as never using it till the act of Judas is imminent*[1]."

[1] [**1209** *a*] According to this view, John may have recognized that Jesus did sometimes use the word מסר "deliver up": but he believed that the Synoptic traditions about "delivering up"—missing the context, and not suggesting the Jewish associations of the word with martyrdom—had become, in his days, so misleading that a restating of the doctrine was necessary.

[**1209** *b*] The only other Johannine instances of the use of the word by Jesus are in the dialogue with Pilate, where He (Jn xviii. 36, xix. 11) twice refers to the "delivering up" as a past act (**1388–92**).

[**1209** *c*] It may be asked why the Evangelists did not use προδίδωμι "betray" to denote the act of Judas. A sufficient answer, perhaps, would be that the word, in the single instance where it occurs in N.T.,

[**1210**] For the rest, we should expect such an Evangelist, while avoiding the overworn and controverted letter of Isaiah's prophecy, to express its spirit in original language. That John had it in his mind is proved by the fact that he is the only Evangelist that quotes Isaiah's words about "the arm of the Lord" and dilates on the causes that hindered it from being revealed to the Jews[1]: and the way in which he may have expressed the spirit of the prophecy may be illustrated by the following comment on the opening words of Isaiah's prophecy in which Kimchi attacks the Christian position thus: "I should like to ask the Christians who explain this section as referring to Jesus, how the prophet could have said (Is. lii. 13) 'lifted up and lofty exceedingly'? If this refers to the flesh, Jesus was not 'lifted up' except when he was suspended upon the cross; if it refers to the Godhead, then he was mighty and lifted up from the beginning [so that it could not be said, He *will* be lifted up][2]."

[**1211**] To John, Kimchi's two kinds of "lifting up" would have seemed very much alike. One was "lifting up" on a cross, some seven, or at the most—for a distinguished criminal—seventeen feet high. The other was "lifting up" in a heaven, at the most the seventh heaven. Both kinds were equally literal, local, and spiritually insignificant. Neither of these was to be compared with the "lifting up" of the human heart in prayer, still less with such a "lifting up" as was consummated when the Son ascended to the Father,

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means (Rom. xi. 35 printed by W.H. as from Is. xl. 13 foll. (LXX)) "*give beforehand.*" It occurs only thrice in canon. LXX, always as an error or var. reading, in 2 K. vi. 11, Is. xl. 14, Ezek. xvi. 34. The regular LXX word for "deal treacherously" is ἀθετῶ (or ἀσυνθετῶ). See **1214** *b*.

[1] [**1210** *a*] Jn xii. 38—41, quoting Isaiah as being the prophet that "saw his glory." The "glory" is, most probably, not (or at all events not alone) the vision of the Lord in the Temple (Is. vi. 1—3) but the revelation of the Messiah as the Suffering Servant, which seemed to John the highest of all revelations.

[2] Quoted, with modifications, from D. and N. p. 55.

and Man was made one with God, in a supreme act of self-sacrifice. In the Fourth Gospel the whole course of Christ's life is regarded as a manifestation, to some extent, of this third kind of "lifting up." But it was concentrated in the moment when He was "lifted up," literally, on the cross, and, spiritually, in the patient endurance of crucifixion. This is the subject of one of the earliest predictions in the Johannine Gospel, "The Son of man must be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him may have eternal life[1]."

[1212] It will be observed that in this prediction of "lifting up" John makes no reference to Isaiah's prophecy, but only to "the brazen serpent in the wilderness." Similarly, he never speaks of the Messiah as "making his soul an offering for sin" and yet as "prolonging his days"—two expressions that occur together in Isaiah[2]. But there is a parallel to both in the Good Shepherd who has "authority to lay down his life and authority to take it again[3]." The life is *laid down "for the sheep,"* and this metaphor differentiates John's doctrine both from the pagan hypothesis of redemption by a bribe, and from the rabbinical doctrine (**1170**) of purification by wholesome instruction. The process of redemption, according to John, consisted of an act of divine suffering in which, so to speak, the Father suffered through the Son, or the Son in the name of the Father, contending against evil for the sake of mankind. How the sheep were to be torn out of the grip of the wolf, or how, apart from the shepherd-metaphor, the spirits of men were to be drawn into the embrace of the Son, is suggested in the words: "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me[4]," that is, through loving gratitude, faith, and reverence.

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[1] Jn iii. 15.

[2] Is. liii. 10 "Thou shalt make his soul (marg. his soul shall make) an offering for sin...he shall prolong his days."

[3] Jn x. 18.

[4] Jn xii. 32.

[**1213**] Again, the prophet speaks of the Sufferer as being rewarded for His suffering by "dividing the spoils with the strong," *i.e.* by the glorious prize of victory. So, the Evangelist speaks of the redeeming act as one by which the Son is "glorified" by the Father, or simply "glorified[1]." Isaiah closes his prediction with words that mean, literally, "He shall go to meet[2] [God] for the transgressors." So, John describes the Son as telling the disciples that He is the Way, implying the Way to the Father, that He will not only go to the Father but also go before them to the Father to prepare a place for them[3].

[**1214**] Space does not admit here of further remarks concerning the shapes in which the intercessory Paradosis might be concealed. One alone may be mentioned—the Johannine doctrine that the Lord gives His flesh and blood for the life of the world[4]—which follows as a natural development from Isaiah's expressions. The further consideration of what may be called "latent Paradosis" must be reserved for another occasion; for already we have been led somewhat beyond the sphere of mere inferential anticipation into that

[1] Jn vii. 39, xii. 16, 23 &c.

[2] This is (**1173**) the literal meaning of פגע, "make intercession."

[3] Jn xiv. 2—3.

[4] [**1214** *a*] Jn vi. 51–3. Comp. a similar statement, from a different point of view, Barn. v. 1 "The Lord endured to deliver up *His flesh* to destruction that we might be purified by the remission of sins, which [purification] is in the blood of His sprinkling," which he supports from Is. liii. 5, 7. (1) The Greek word "deliver up," in the LXX, most freq. corresponds to Heb. "give." (2) The word "self" (in "myself," "himself" &c.) is expressed freq. in Heb. (and more freq. in Chald. and Syr.) by (**1326**) "soul." Hence "I shall deliver myself up," or (**1197**) "I shall be delivered up," might correspond to "I shall give my soul." Thus, "He shall make intercession" might appear, according to LXX vocabulary, in the form "He shall be delivered up," but also, in Eastern paraphrases, as "He shall give His soul [as a ransom]" (Mk x. 45, Mt. xx. 28). Instead of "*self*" or "*soul*," New Hebrew and Aramaic often use (**1326** *d*) "*bone*." Barnabas, writing for Greeks, might prefer "*flesh*."

of fact. But the digression may be of use at this point because—when we attempt (in the following pages) the detailed discussion of the Synoptic predictions of Paradosis—we shall be prepared, on the one hand, to expect in John no vestige of the Synoptic predictions concerning a far-off, or at all events not immediate, "delivering up," "scourging," "spitting," "shamefully entreating" &c., and yet, on the other hand, to find the whole of the Fourth Gospel permeated with a high and noble doctrine of intercessory action such as Isaiah might well have accepted as the truest interpretation of his words[1].

[1] [**1214** *b*] As regards the distinction (**1209** *c*) between παραδίδωμι and προδίδωμι, Mr W. S. Aldis has pointed out to me an interesting contrast in *Polyc. Mart. Smyrn.* 1 "He waited in the neighbourhood that he might be *delivered up* (παραδοθῇ) as also did the Lord," and (*ib.* 6) "they that were *betraying* (προδιδόντες) him were they of his own household." It may be added that self-sought martyrdom is perhaps stigmatized as a kind of self-betrayal (*ib.* 4): "We do not commend those who [as it were] *betray themselves* (προδιδόντας ἑαυτοὺς) since not thus doth the Gospel teach us." This is what might be expected from the general style of the Smyrnaean Epistle, which does not appear to be much influenced by Hebraic Greek.

[**1214** *c*] The only instance of παραδίδωμι ψυχήν in Heinichen's Indices to Eusebius is viii. 6. 4 ἐν αὐταῖς παρέδωκε (v. r. ἀπέδωκε) τὴν ψυχὴν ταῖς βασάνοις, of an expiring martyr (comp. Jn xix. 30 παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα).

CHAPTER IV

THE PREDICTION "IN GALILEE"

§ 1. *The text*

[1215] ONLY two predictions of Paradosis (apart from the Lord's Supper) are recorded by the three Synoptists conjointly[1]. The first is placed, by all, after the healing of the demoniac child, when Jesus had come down from the Mount of Transfiguration. But Mark and Matthew interpose a dialogue between Jesus and the disciples (Mark implies that it was in "[the] house[2]") who ask why they could not cast out the devil. Luke has no such dialogue, and gives the impression that the prediction was made at once. Mark and Matthew connect the utterance with a journey through, or in, Galilee. Luke makes no mention of Galilee.

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[1] Matthew (xxvi. 2) has a prediction peculiar to himself ("the Son of man is delivered up to be crucified") in the midst of a Synoptic narrative. This will be discussed separately (**1289—1310**). The present discussion confines itself to the two predictions of Paradosis recorded in six parallel Synoptic passages. The Paradosis referred to at the Lord's Supper (Mk xiv. 18 "one of you will deliver me up," Mk xiv. 21 "through whom the Son of man is delivered up," and parall.) may be said perhaps to be rather mentioned as immediate than to be predicted. A separate chapter will be devoted to it (**1311–58**).

[2] Mk ix. 28 "And when he had entered [the] house."

Mk ix. 27—32 (lit.)

"...and he [the child] arose. [And when he had entered into the house his disciples privately asked him..... 'This kind in nothing can come forth save in prayer.'] And thence having come forth they were going *through Galilee* and he willed not that any one should know. For he was teaching his disciples and was saying to them that 'The Son of man is [to be] delivered up into the hands of men, [[AND THEY SHALL KILL HIM, AND HAVING BEEN KILLED, AFTER THREE DAYS HE SHALL ARISE.']]"

Mark adds as comment:

"But they were ignorant of the saying and they were afraid to ask him further."

Mt. xvii. 18—23 (lit.)

"...and the boy was healed from that hour. [Then the disciples having come unto Jesus privately said..... 'and nothing shall be impossible for you.'] But while they were gathering together *in Galilee*, Jesus said to them, 'The Son of man is destined to be delivered up into the hands of men [[AND THEY SHALL KILL HIM AND ON THE THIRD DAY HE SHALL BE RAISED UP (marg. ARISE).']]"

Matthew adds as comment:

"And they were grieved exceedingly."

Lk. ix. 42—45 (lit.)

"...and he gave him [*i.e.* the child] to his father. But they were all astonished at the greatness of God. But while all [? of them] were wondering at all things that he was doing, he said to his disciples, (lit.) 'Put ye into your ears these words, for the Son of man is destined to be delivered up into the hands of men.'"

Luke adds as comment:

"But they were ignorant of this saying, and it was veiled from them that they might not perceive it, and they were afraid to ask him about this saying."

§ 2. *Subsequent reference to it*

[1216] The reader will note that *here* Luke omits the important prediction of resurrection (bracketed in capitals) inserted by Mark and Matthew. Yet, with a strange appear-

ance of inconsistency, he records, *later on*, a saying of an angel, *which seems to refer to this prediction as being uttered "in Galilee*," and which includes, not only a mention of "Galilee," but also of "being crucified" and of "arising." On the other hand, *there*, Mark and Matthew omit both "arising" and "crucified," and give quite a different turn to the phrase about "Galilee":—

Mk xvi. 6—7

"'He hath been raised up, he is not here. See! [This is] the place where they put him. But go back! Say to his disciples and to Peter that *he goeth before you into Galilee*: there shall ye see him, even as he said to you.'"

Mt. xxviii. 6—7

"'He is not here, for he hath been raised up even as he said. Hither! See the place where he lay. And quickly going say to his disciples that he is raised up from the dead and behold *he goeth before you into Galilee*. There shall ye see him. Behold I have told you.'"

Lk. xxiv. 6—7

"'He is not here but he hath been raised up. Remember how *he spake to you yet being in Galilee* [SAYING [ABOUT] THE SON OF MAN THAT HE MUST BE DELIVERED UP INTO THE HANDS OF SINFUL MEN AND BE CRUCIFIED[1] AND ON THE THIRD DAY ARISE].'"

§ 3. "*Into the hands of men*"

[**1217**] Considering first the earlier of these two Synoptic narratives—the prediction about being "delivered up into the hands of men"—we find here one of the forms, above (**1176–8**) specified, of probable corruptions of the Isaiah-prophecy ("delivered up to, or, for, transgressors, or transgressions"): and the words of Mark and Matthew that are omitted by Luke ("and they shall kill...he shall arise") appear to have been added by Mark (and accepted by Matthew) *in order to explain what was meant by "being delivered up into the hands*

[1] Lk. contains no prediction of crucifixion uttered by our Lord.

of men." It implied being delivered up, by the providence of God, to a death that was to be followed by a resurrection such as was predicted by Isaiah and other prophets, and accomplished by Christ. On this hypothesis, the words are rightly omitted by Luke.

[**1218**] But though Luke may have omitted the words about "rising again after three days" because they were not uttered by Jesus on this occasion, it does not follow that they were not uttered by Him on another occasion. The case may be parallel to that of Matthew's and Luke's versions of the Sermon on the Mount. Matthew groups together a great number of sayings after the Beatitudes; the parallel Luke has a comparatively small number. But elsewhere Luke places a great number of those omitted in his version of the Sermon. So, here, as regards Luke's omission of the saying "after three days, or, on the third day, he shall arise," it is placed by Luke in other portions of his Gospel; and there is much reason to believe that it was a part of the original Gospel based on the prophecy of Hosea (vi. 2) "On the third day he will raise us up." Hence, although we may reject all the words bracketed in capitals above (**1215**) so far as concerns their claim to be an utterance of Jesus *at this point of time*, we do not reject them so far as concerns the claim of some of them to have been uttered by Jesus *on other occasions.*

[**1219**] In the second narrative we find Luke himself adopting the amplified tradition that connected "delivering up to men" with resurrection. But he also qualifies "men" by "sinful" so as to bring it closer to the prophetic "transgressors"; and he here adopts the word "*crucified*" as a substitute for "*kill*," although he has never represented Jesus as predicting His own crucifixion. Perhaps, by "saying," Luke meant "saying *in effect.*" But, in any case, it is remarkable that Luke did not bring the first passage into harmony with the second in his own Gospel.

[1220] As regards the comments made by the Evangelists on this saying of Christ, it should be noted that Luke shews signs of conflation, *e.g.* (a_1) "they were all astonished," (a_2) "they were all wondering," and, again, (b_1) "they were ignorant of this saying," (b_2) "it was veiled from them that they might not perceive it." This last expression might imply that it was the will of heaven that the disciples should not at that time understand. Hence it might be parallel to Mark's (ix. 30) "He willed not that any one should know" if the latter were read as "HE willed," or, in more exact conformity with early Christian idiom, "it was not the WILL that any one should know[1]." These facts indicate that Luke, who seems to have been dissatisfied with the versions of the earlier Gospels, had not himself succeeded in obtaining a satisfactory version. And this view is confirmed by the phrase "they were ignorant of this saying," following, as it does, the curious expression "delivered up into the hands of men."

[1221] For the truth is that, as Origen points out, the words "*into the hands of men*" are superfluous unless used in antithesis: and it is difficult to see what necessary meaning "*men*" could have here unless it were contrasted with "*God*," or "*angels*," or "*Satan*" or "*devils*." Why should not "deliver up" have been used absolutely as it is elsewhere[2]? "*Men*" might indeed have some meaning, if it could be supposed that Jesus meant to suggest indirectly that He Himself was *not "man" but God: "The Son of man* [, *though really not man but God,*] will be delivered up into the hands of *men*."

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[1] [1220 *a*] See 1 Cor. xvi. 12 *πάντως οὐκ ἦν θέλημα*, "it was not the WILL," as to which Lightfoot (note on Ign. *Eph.* 20) says "*θέλημα* is almost universally misunderstood as applying to Apollos himself." See the whole of his note.

[2] See Mk i. 14, Mt. iv. 12, "after John had been *delivered up*," and add Mk iii. 19, Mt. x. 4, Mk xiii. 11, Mt. x. 19, Mt. xxiv. 10, where the verb is in all cases used absolutely.

But is this supposition tolerable? Certainly Origen did not take refuge in it; nor did, as far as I know, any Ante-Nicene Theologian.

[1222] Origen says that "is [to be] delivered up into the hands of men" is quite different from a previous prediction about "suffering many things from the elders and chief priests": and he explains at great length that there must be a reference to "delivering up" of two kinds: 1st, the Father "delivers" the Son to Satan, to be tried as Job was, 2nd, Satan, through Judas, delivers Him to men, *i.e.* the Jews[1]. Origen's success in explaining difficulties is not always equal to his acuteness in detecting them: but no scholar can deny that, whether in Greek or Hebrew, the expression "delivered up into the hands of *men*" presents a great difficulty, which Luke has removed in his (**1219**) subsequent version, "delivered up into the hands of *sinful men*."

[1223] But an explanation of the origin of the apparently superfluous phrase is open to us—and an explanation that harmonizes many phenomena otherwise difficult to explain—if we suppose that we have here a survival of one among many versions of Isaiah's "He shall make intercession (lit.) *to* (ל) *the transgressors*," one in which the translator has blended, as above (**1183** *c*) suggested, the literal LXX and the literal Hebrew, and has interpreted "*the transgressors*" as meaning *the whole of sinful mankind*, i.e. "*men*." Thus, from the LXX he has obtained "be delivered up"; from the Hebrew, "to" (*i.e.* into the hands of); from paraphrase, "men." The result has been "shall be delivered up *into the hands of men*."

[1224] As regards the "ignorance" (alleged by Mark and Matthew) on the part of the disciples—they might indeed be puzzled and perplexed by the superfluity of the phrase, but it is hard to see how they could have failed to understand its literal meaning. And hence, perhaps, Matthew substitutes

[1] *Comm. Matth.* Clark pp. 479–80, Huet, vol. i. pp. 313–4. See **1179**.

"They were grieved." But if the Original was "delivered up *for* men," then we can well understand that the disciples may have been "ignorant" of its meaning. They did not as yet apprehend the mediatory nature of the Saviour's life and death.

§ 4. *"Galilee" might be confused with "for your sakes"*

[**1225**] One point of difference between the Fourth Gospel and the Three is that the former, in various ways, represents our Lord as saying that His acts and words are *"for the sake of" the disciples*, whereas the Synoptists emphasize the sufferings that believers must suffer *for the sake of Christ*. A glance at an English Concordance will shew this. The only Synoptic instance of *"for the sake of"* applied to believers is in the prediction that *"for the elect's sake"* the days of tribulation shall be shortened[1].

[**1226**] John, on the other hand, represents Jesus as habitually declaring that He has the disciples in His mind as a motive for thought or action, "I am glad *for your sakes* that I was not there[2]," "*For their sakes* I sanctify myself[3]." In other passages, where "sake" is not mentioned, it is implied, *e.g.* "I have given you *an example* [in the washing of feet] *that ye also should do as I have done to you*[4]," "Greater love hath no man than this that a man *lay down his life for his friends: ye are my friends...*[5]," "From henceforth, I tell you before it come to pass, *that, when it is come to pass, ye may*

[1] [**1225** *a*] Mk xiii. 20, Mt. xxiv. 22. In both, this is followed by (Mk xiii. 23, Mt. xxiv. 25) "I have told you beforehand (*προείρηκα*)." Lk. omits the whole. This is the only instance of the verb "tell beforehand" in the Gospels; but John, intervening (see Preface, p. ix), has the same thing in different words (Jn xvi. 4), "These things [predictions of persecution] have I *spoken unto you that, when their hour cometh, ye may remember that I said* [*these things*] *to you*."

[2] Jn xi. 15.

[3] Jn xvii. 19.

[4] Jn xiii. 15.

[5] Jn xv. 13.

believe that I am he[1]," "I go *to prepare a place for you*[2]," "These things have I spoken unto you *that my joy may be in you and that your joy may be fulfilled*[3]." Even as to the single Voice from Heaven recorded in the Fourth Gospel, Jesus says, "This voice came not for my sake, but *for your sakes*[4]."

[**1227**] Antecedently, then, it may be regarded as probable that, among a number of comments or glosses added to explain the obscure Hebrew expression "make intercession [with reference] *to* transgressors" (meaning "*for* transgressors"), a Jewish Evangelist might insert, in Aramaic or Hebrew, some word meaning "*for the sake of*," in order to indicate that the preposition (ל-) had that meaning in this exceptional case. And this supposition is confirmed by the fact that *the Targum on Isaiah's words* (liii. 12) *actually contains a phrase of this kind* ("*and to the rebellious there shall be forgiveness* FOR HIS SAKE").

[**1228**] The Targum word here used is בדיל, regularly used by Onkelos to represent "for his sake[5]," and it could not be confused with "Galilee." But on the other hand in the Pentateuch, where Onkelos uses בדיל, *the corresponding word in the Jerusalem Targum is very similar indeed to the Hebrew for "Galilee," differing from the latter only by a yod* ("*for the sake of*," גלל, "*Galilee*," גליל). Moreover, גלל is frequently used in Biblical Hebrew to mean "sake." But in Biblical Hebrew, גלל, "sake," is always preceded by the preposition ב (which commonly means "in" or "into"). In Aramaic it is not always thus preceded[6]. Hence people familiar only with the Aramaic phrase *without* the preposition might be disposed to think that the Hebrew phrase *with* the preposition did not mean "*sake*" but something else. If so,

[1] Jn xiii. 19 (comp. xiv. 29).
[2] Jn xiv. 2.
[3] Jn xv. 11.
[4] Jn xii. 30.
[5] "For his sake (בדיליה)."
[6] Gesen. 164 *a*, Levy, *Ch.* i. 142 *b*.

the natural inference would be that the preposition had its usual meaning "*in*," or "*into*," and that גלל, "*sake*," was a provincial form, or slight corruption, of גליל, "*Galilee*," so as to make בגלל mean "*in Galilee*" or "*into Galilee*."

[1229] If the phrase "for *your*, or *their*, *sakes*" was originally connected with some spiritual promise "to go before the disciples *for their sakes*" across the valley of the shadow of death—such a promise as John records when Jesus says to the disciples "I go *to prepare a place for you*[1]"—and if this spiritual promise was interpreted literally, so that the "going," and the "place," were localized, various traditions might then arise as follows in accordance with various tendencies.

[1230] The first tendency, owing to the striking similarity of the words "*sake*" and "*Galilee*," would be to interpret "*for your sakes*," בגללכם, as בגליל לכם, i.e. "*into Galilee* for you": and this would give rise to an interpretation (similar to that which is actually found in Mark and Matthew[2]) to the effect that He promised to go before them "*into Galilee*." This would naturally commend itself to the Galilaean Church, especially as some, at all events, of Christ's manifestations after death actually occurred in Galilee.

[1231] In later times, this tradition might create difficulties, because manifestations in Jerusalem were held to have preceded those in Galilee. Luke expressly records such manifestations. Yet he still retains the tradition concerning Galilee. But he reconciles it with his view of the facts by interpreting the Hebrew preposition (ב) not as "*into*" but as "*in*," which he had a perfect right to do, as the latter is the more common meaning. Thus he obtains a second tradition, which is, in effect, "He promised [*when he was*] *in Galilee*," to manifest Himself after death to the disciples.

[1232] A third tradition (John's) might arise as follows—recognizing, as Luke's does, the preceding manifestations in

[1] Jn xiv. 2.

[2] Mk xvi. 7, Mt. xxviii. 7 and Mk xiv. 28, Mt. xxvi. 32.

Jerusalem, but harmonizing the accounts in a manner entirely different from Luke's. It happens that גליל, though secondarily and geographically meaning "*Galilee*," has the primary meaning of "*circle*" or "*region*[1]." Taking the word in this sense as "*region*" or "*place*," and reading the sentence as "I will go before you *into a place*," some might regard it as meaning substantially "I will go before you *to prepare a place*," which is, in effect, the Johannine tradition. This would not really differ from "I will go before you *for your sakes*," if the "going before" were interpreted as going across the river of death to prepare the way for the disciples. The original promise may not have literally *mentioned* a "place," but the preparation of a place in heaven may have been implied by it. If so, John may have expressed with spiritual truth the promise that is almost entirely obscured by the Synoptists. But there is some evidence for the supposition that an early Hebrew tradition mentioned "*place*" in connexion with the phrase "*for your sakes*": and the question is so important that it claims investigation in the next section.

§ 5. "*I will go before you to Galilee*"

[**1233**] We have been attempting to explain a parallelism between three Synoptic passages variously recording the message of an angel:

Mk xvi. 7	Mt. xxviii. 7	Lk. xxiv. 6
"'He goeth before you *to Galilee*. There shall ye see him, even as he said[2] unto you.'"	"'He goeth before you *to Galilee*. There shall ye see him: behold, I have said [it][2] unto you.'"	"'Remember how he spake unto you yet being in *Galilee* saying,...'"

[1] Comp. Is. ix. 1 (R.V. txt.) "Galilee," marg. "district."

[2] [**1233** *a*] Mk ειπεν, Mt. ειπον, easily confused in Greek tradition, whether oral or written. But confusion would also be easy in Hebrew.

The conclusion arrived at was that "*to Galilee*" was an error for "*for your sakes*," and that the real saying of Jesus at the bottom of these variations was best represented by some tradition that Jesus "went before the disciples *for their sakes*," i.e. to prepare the way for them. It was added that—"*Galilee*" having the meaning of a "*circle*," or "*region*"—this might be converted into a tradition like that of John (xiv. 2), "I go to prepare a *place* for you."

[**1234**] But, so far, the discussion has left unnoticed the Synoptic narrative in which the three Evangelists agree up to the point where Mark and Matthew actually introduce a promise of Jesus to go before the disciples "to *Galilee*," but Luke breaks off into a completely different tradition mentioning a "*place*," and "*prayer*." Immediately after the words "*to Galilee*," Mark and Matthew mention the protest of Peter and the rebuke, or warning, of Jesus ("thou shalt deny me"): Luke also has the protest and the warning, but places them before his statement about "*place*" and "*prayer*," and he describes Jesus as interceding for Peter:

Mk xiv. 26–9	Mt. xxvi. 30–3	Lk. xxii. 39—40, 31–3
"(26) And having *sung a hymn*[1], they came forth to the Mount of Olives. (27) And Jesus saith to them, 'All ye shall be made to stumble, because it is written, I will smite the shepherd,	"(30) And having *sung a hymn*[1], they came forth to the Mount of Olives. (31) Then saith Jesus to them, 'All ye (emph.) shall be made to stumble in me in this night. For it	"(39) And having come forth, *he went according to the custom*[1] to the Mount of Olives. But there followed him also the disciples. (40) But when he was at the PLACE, he said to them, 'PRAY

[1] [**1234** *a*] Lk. appears to have confused הלל, "sing the Hallel," "boast" &c., with הלך, "went." Comp. Zech. x. 12 "*go up and down*," κατακαυχήσονται, i.e. "*boast*." Possibly there is also some confusion arising from the Biblical "Halîchah," "*going*," and the New Heb. "Halachah," "*custom*."

Mk xiv. 26–9	Mt. xxvi. 30–3	Lk. xxii. 39—40, 31–3
and the sheep shall be scattered. (28) But after I am raised [from the dead] I will go before you TO GALILEE.' (29) But Peter said to him, 'Even though all....'"	is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered. (32) But after I am raised [from the dead] I will go before you TO GALILEE.' (33) But Peter answered and said, 'If all...'"	not to enter into temptation.'" "'(31) Simon Simon...(32) But I made supplication about thee ..... strengthen thy brethren.' (33) But he said to him, 'Lord, with thee I am willing...[1]'"

[1235] A comparison of these passages with corresponding ones in the Fourth Gospel suggests many interesting considerations to which space does not allow us to refer, except for the purpose of indicating that, as they shew the Fourth Evangelist to have had the Three Gospels *generally* in view throughout this portion of the Gospel narrative, the probability is strengthened that he also had them in view in the particular detail with which we are dealing.

[1236] For example, whereas Luke omits "all ye shall be made to stumble [in me]"—perhaps in view of the saying, "Blessed is he that shall not be made to stumble in me[2]"—John takes a different course—thinking, perhaps, that Christian readers ought to be able to distinguish between "stumbling (for a time)" and "stumbling (so as to fall)." At all events, instead of simply omitting, John substitutes what appears to

[1] Lk xxii. 31–3, introducing Peter's protest, has been arranged above so as to be parall. with Peter's protest in Mk-Mt. But Luke places the protest before, Mk-Mt. after, the coming forth to the Mount of Olives.

[2] [1236 *a*] Mt. xi. 6, Lk. vii. 23. No doubt, there are conceivable cases where "being made to stumble" might be interpreted as meaning "permanent stumbling." But Mk xiv. 27 may have meant "made to stumble [but not made to fall]." John, in effect, omits the non-bracketed and inserts the bracketed words. Comp. Rom. xi. 11 (though the verb is there πταίω) "Have they stumbled that they should fall? God forbid."

be of the nature of a correction, "These things have I said that ye may *not* be made to stumble[1]." Again, Luke omits "the sheep shall be scattered[2]." So does John, as a prophecy from Zechariah; but he inserts it as a prediction of Jesus, "Ye shall be scattered every man to his own[3]." Luke inserts "Simon...I have made supplication concerning thee[4]." John has "I say *not* that I will ask the Father concerning you, for the Father himself loveth you[5]." Hence, if the Johannine parallel to the protest of Peter contains in its context any mention of the words we are considering, we may approach the discussion of the similarity with an antecedent hypothesis that it is not casual, but that John is using the word or words in order to disprove some ancient error or clear up some ancient obscurity.

[**1237**] John's account of Peter's protest is based on a previous declaration of the Lord that He is going to some place whither the disciples cannot at present follow. Though He appears to mean something synonymous with going to the Father, He does not mention the Name, nor does He at first use the word "place." He simply says, "Whither I go ye cannot come." Peter protests that he will follow Jesus anywhere: "Why cannot I follow thee now? I will lay down my life for thee." Then follows Christ's prediction of the triple denial, and a gloom falls on the disciples. At this point comes a definition of the place: "In my Father's [region] are many abiding-places: I go to prepare a PLACE for you[6]."

[**1238**] It may be remembered that above (**1228–33**), led by other independent considerations, we came to the conclusion that this "preparing of a *place*" was identical in origin with a mention of "*Galilee*" by Mark and Matthew.

[1] Jn xvi. 1.
[2] Mk xiv. 27, Zech. xiii. 7.
[3] Jn xvi. 32.
[4] Lk. xxii. 32.
[5] Jn xvi. 26–7.
[6] Jn xiii. 33—xiv. 2. On "abiding-places," see Appendix I.

But then there was nothing to indicate an actually extant parallelism in the Gospels between the two words. Now we find one. But we also find a mention of being "raised [from the dead]" in Mark and Matthew, and a mention of "*place*" in the parallel Luke—only not in a saying of Jesus, but thus :—

Mk-Mt.	Lk.	Jn
"'After I have been raised [from the dead] I will go before you to GALILEE.'"	"But when he was at the PLACE, he said, 'Pray ye... ...I have made supplication.'"	"'I go to prepare a PLACE for you.'"

[**1239**] The phenomena, if they are to be fully explained from a Hebrew Original, require, in the first place, some Hebrew word that may mean both "*raised* [*from the dead*]," found in Mark and Matthew, and "*place*," found in Luke and John. Further, this Hebrew word ought to be able to suggest, in some way, the notion of "*prayer*" (or "*supplication*") found in Luke alone. Such a word is the Hebrew "*place*," מקום, which is a form of the verb קום, "*arise*," and is (**1244** *a*) confused with the verb in the LXX. It is also very frequent in the Talmud as a term for "God," and is connected by the Talmudists with *intercessory prayer to God*. These remarkable coincidences make it worth while to consider the hypothesis of such a Hebrew word as the latent cause of some of the Synoptic variations.

§ 6. *"Place" in New Hebrew, meaning "God"*

[**1240**] It has been conjectured above (**1225–33**) that in an original statement about Jesus going before the disciples *for their sakes*, the italicized words may have been mistaken for "*to Galilee*," owing to the similarity of בגלל "*for the sake of*" and בגליל "*in* (or, *into*) *Galilee*," which resulted in the change of the former to the latter. The word "go before"

may have been expressed by Isaiah's word "go to meet" (**1173** *a*, **1241**), not intended to mean literal "going" but "intercession." The hypothesis that "Galilee" has been introduced by error receives confirmation from the fact that "*Galilaean*" *is actually inserted, on one occasion, in the Jerusalem Targum, as the result, apparently, of some gloss on the Biblical* גבול, "*border*[1]" (*a word less similar to* "*Galilee*" *than* גלל, "*for the sake of*"). But so momentous a transmutation could hardly have been received without objections, discussions, and suggested alternatives; and we have now to consider whether there exist any Biblical and Talmudic facts that might have suggested to Jewish Christians some other way of rendering the intercessory phrase—some way that may throw light on the above-mentioned variations, "*raised* (*from the dead*)," "*place*," "*pray*" (or "*supplicate*").

[**1241**] The Hebrew word "*intercede*" (lit. "*go to meet*"), פגע, occurs but thrice in Genesis, once in the sense of "intercede[2]," once in the sense of "go to meet[3]," and once, apparently in the sense of "reached" (R.V. "lighted"), as follows: "And he (*i.e.* Jacob) *lighted* upon (*lit.* in, -ב) the place and tarried there all night[4]." The "place," says the narrator, was up to that time called Luz, but now, by Jacob, "Bethel," or House of God. But why not "*a* place"? Why

[1] [**1240** *a*] Gen. xlvii. 21 "As for the people [of Egypt] he removed them to cities from one end of (מקצה) *the border of* (גבול) Egypt to the other end thereof." Jer. I. inserts "*for the sake* of the brethren of Joseph that they might not be called (Eth.) *wanderers*, [(Walt.) "exules," גלוילאי]," and Jer. II. "that they might not deride the sons of Jacob and call them (Eth.) *Galilaean* (*wandering*) [(Walt.) "Galilaeos," גלולאי] guests." Possibly the Targumists took -מ as prep. = "to prevent" (*i.e.* "that they might not"), and קצה as a form of קצף, "provoke," "*that they might not provoke* them under the name of Galilaeans." But in any case it looks as though "*Galilaean*" sprang, in some way, from גבול. Jer. I. also introduces גלל in the phrase "for (מן) *the sake of* (בגלל) the brethren of Joseph."

[2] Gen. xxiii. 8. [3] Gen. xxxii. 1. [4] Gen. xxviii. 11.

"*the* place"? In their comments on this passage, several Rabbis tell us that God is "*the* Place" of the world. One of them quotes the ninetieth Psalm, "O Jehovah, thou art *our abiding-place* (מעון) in every generation[1]." It would follow of course—in mystical interpretation—that "Jacob *went to meet the Place*" meant that he "*offered up prayer to God*." Even Rashi, who here regards "Place" as meaning Mount Moriah, says—after rendering the passage literally as "reached the place"—"Our teachers connect this phrase with prayer, as (Ruth i. 16) '*entreat* (פגע) *me not*.' Hence it follows that *Jacob here instituted the Evening Prayer*."

[1242] Now although it is not probable that Jesus here, or on any occasion, used the word "Place" for "God[2]," there is nothing to prevent us from believing that He used this ambiguous word "*pray*" or "*go to meet*[3]"; and, if He did, then the Jewish writers of Hebrew Gospels or glosses, in attempting to explain the phrase in which "Galilee" claimed to be inserted, would naturally recur to this most ancient tradition concerning the "intercession" of their ancestor—especially at this point, where the Synoptic or Triple Tradition is about to describe Jesus for the first time as offering up

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[1] [1241 *a*] So St Paul tells us that (Acts xvii. 28) "*In him* we *live* and move and have our being." See *Ber. Rabb.* (Wünsche) on Gen. xxviii. 11. Rashi and others take a different view of the Place; but all agree that prayer is implied.

[2] [1242 *a*] Aramaic uses another word, אתר, for "place," and there is no evidence to shew that אתר was used in Aramaic phrases corresponding to the use of מקום in New Hebrew (Levy iii. 219 *b*), "The *Place* help him!" "The *Place* be blessed!" &c. In Gen. xxviii. 11, Onk. has simply אתר "place," Jer. "the place (אתר) of the house of the sanctuary," and this, or some other word, is substituted in other passages where the Bible has מקום for the place of God's habitation (see Dalman, *Words*, p. 232).

[3] [1242 *b*] In Esther iv. 14, the Targum inserts as a gloss, "If thou wilt not *intercede* (תפגיעי) for the Jews," and פגע is also used (Levy, *Ch.* ii. 254 *a*) in Aramaic to mean "meet." In Gen. xxviii. 11, Onk. substitutes ערע "meet," for פגע, Jer. conflates פגע with צלי, "pray."

a detailed prayer[1]—and, like Jacob, evening prayer. Thus "*Place*" might be introduced into the narrative as a substitute for "Galilee," some perhaps taking "*Place*" to mean Heaven, as in Hosea, where God (or the Word of God), unable to convert Israel, says "I will return unto my Place[2]," others taking it to mean "God," so that the meaning would be "offer up prayer to *God*."

[**1243**] This hypothesis would help us to explain the introduction of the Johannine Logion, "In my Father's [region] are many abiding-places." The abiding-places were possibly taken by some interpreters of this early tradition as "stages" on the journey through the region. At all events, a very early tradition, probably from Papias, implies that the abiding-places correspond to ranks or grades such as might be inferred from the words "hundred-fold," "sixty-fold," "thirty-fold" in the Parable of the Sower[3]. It happens that מקום, which in Hebrew means "place," means in Aramaic "*place*" *in the sense of official place, status, rank*[4]. And "Galilee," in Hebrew or Aramaic, would be connected (**1232**) with the meaning of "*circle*," "*region*." Thus, amid a conflict of traditions, some attempt might naturally be made to explain these different terms expressive of "region" or "place" or "rank." And thus might arise a saying that the former included the latter: "In the Place are many places." This, or something like this, may have either originated the Johannine tradition or caused its insertion at this particular point[5].

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[1] [**1242** *c*] Mk i. 35 describes our Lord as praying in the early morning, and Mk vi. 46 as praying perhaps in the afternoon (since ὀψίας γενομένης occurs in the next verse); but the prayer by night in Mk xiv. 36 is the only one of which the words are given.

[2] [**1242** *d*] Hos. v. 15 "I will go and return unto my *place* (מקומי)," Targ. "I will take away my Shechinah, I will return to the abode (מדור) of my holiness, which is in the heavens."

[3] See Appendix I.

[4] See Levy, *Ch.* ii. 63 *b*.

[5] See **1434–5** for further details.

[**1244**] As regards Mark's and Matthew's introduction of the words "after I have been raised [from the dead]," the word מקום, "place," "standing-place," is simply a form of קום, "stand [up]," "arise," which is the word used to mean "rising from the dead." In this respect Hebrew resembles Greek, where "resurrection" is *ἀνάστασις*, "standing up." Owing to the frequent confusion (**253**, **516** *a* &c.) between the letters מ and ב, מקום might be taken for בקום, which might be interpreted as "when I rise [from the dead]," lit. "in [my] rising from the dead," just as בהקיץ in the Psalms (xvii. 15) means "when I awake," lit. "in [my] awaking." And a hypothetical confusion between "arise" and "place" here finds an exact parallel, both as to word and as to construction, twice repeated in Proverbs, "*When* the wicked *arise*," lit. "*in the arising* (בקום) of the wicked," LXX "*in the places* of the impious[1]."

[1] [**1244** *a*] Prov. xxviii. 12, 28 *ἐν τόποις ἀσεβῶν*. Prob. LXX reduplicated -ב as -מ, so changing בקום into במקום. Comp. 2 S. xxii. 49 "From them that *rise up* against me," Luc. (Field "al.") "from my *place*," Nah. i. 8 "the *place thereof*," LXX "*rising up against*," *ἐπεγειρομένους*, Aq. *ἀπὸ ἀνισταμένων*, Theod. "consurgentibus," Sym. *τοῦ τόπου*, Jer. x. 20 "and *to set up* (מקים)," LXX *τόπος*, Aq. *ἀνιστῶν*.

[**1244** *b*] Another word for "*place*" is מכון, lit. "an *established* [*place*]," from כון, "*establish*," "*prepare*." The origin of the noun facilitates a confusion between "*place*" and "*prepare*," and shews how, in the development of a Logion from different words meaning "*place*," the phrase "to a *place*" might be conflated into "to *prepare a place*." See Dan. xi. 21 "*place* (כן, from כון)" where the LXX has *τόπον*, Theod. *ἑτοιμασίαν*. Comp., from the same root (כון), 1 K. viii. 39 (2 Chr. vi. 30) "the *place* of (מכון) thy dwelling," LXX "a *prepared* (*ἑτοίμου*) dwelling," rep. in 1 K. viii. 43 (2 Chr. vi. 33): also 1 K. viii. 13 "a *place* (מכון)," LXX om., A *ἕδρασμα* (comp. viii. 53 *a*, LXX *ἑκπρεπῆ*, A *εὐπρεπῆ*)=2 Chr. vi. 2 *ἅγιόν σοι καὶ ἕτοιμον*, or simply *ἕτοιμον*.

[**1244** *c*] On other possible confusions arising from the similarity of בגלל "*for the sake of*," and בגלוי "*openly*," *παρρησίᾳ* (Mk viii. 32), see Appendix IV.

CHAPTER V

THE PREDICTION ON THE WAY TO JERUSALEM

§ 1. *The text*

Mk x. 32–4 (lit.)

[1245] "But they were in the way going up to Jerusalem, and Jesus was going before them, and they were amazed, but those following feared: and he took the twelve again and began to say to them the things that were about to befall him, that, 'Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of man shall be delivered up [[TO THE CHIEF PRIESTS AND THE SCRIBES, AND THEY SHALL CONDEMN HIM TO DEATH AND SHALL DELIVER

Mt. xx. 17–9

"But Jesus when he was about to go up to Jerusalem took the twelve disciples privately and in the way said to them, 'Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of man shall be delivered up [[TO THE CHIEF PRIESTS AND SCRIBES, AND THEY SHALL CONDEMN HIM [TO DEATH][1] AND SHALL DELIVER HIM UP]] to (*or*, for) (dat.) the Gentiles to mock and to scourge and to crucify and on the third day he shall

Lk. xviii. 31–4

"But having taken the twelve he said unto them, 'Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and there shall be performed all things that are written by the prophets for (dat.) the Son of man: for he shall be delivered up to (*or*, for) (dat.) the Gentiles and shall be mocked and shamefully entreated and spit upon; and having scourged [him] they shall kill him; and on the third day he shall arise.'"

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[1] W.H. bracket "to death."

Mk x. 32–4 (lit.)	Mt. xx. 17–9	Lk. xviii. 31–4
HIM UP]] to (*or*, for) (dat.) the Gentiles and they shall mock him and shall spit on him and shall scourge him and kill [him] and after three days he shall arise.'"	be raised up (marg. arise).'"	Luke adds as comment: "And they understood none of these things, and this word was hidden from them, and they perceived not the things that were said."
Mark adds no comment.	Matthew adds no comment.	

§ 2. *Apparent conflation in Mark*

[**1246**] Before approaching the discussion of the bracketed words, it will be well to notice a few points in the context, as they may throw light on the structure of Mark's narrative and may indicate reasons for Luke's deviating from it.

Mark here repeats *ἀναβαίνω* twice, and *συμβαίνω* once (a word nowhere else used by him and easily confused with *ἀναβαίνω* as it is once in the LXX)[1]. Μέλλω Mark uses once elsewhere[2], but the fact that he combines it here with *συμβαίνω* whereas Matthew combines it with *ἀναβαίνω* is of itself somewhat suspicious. The suspicion is increased by Luke's omission of all mention of "going up" except in the words of the Lord. These facts point to Greek corruption, which may have arisen from an attempt to explain that "we *are going* up" (in "we *are going* up to Jerusalem") did not mean literally "we *are going* up," but "*purposing to go* up." Such a correction —although quite needless, since "we *are going* up" might

[1] [**1246** *a*] Συμβαίνω occurs nowhere in the Gospels except here and Lk. xxiv. 14. It is characteristic of classical, rather than Hebraic, Greek. In the LXX, 2 Chr. xxxv. 20 "went up," *ἀνέβη*=1 Esdr. i. 23 *συνέβη... ἐλθόντα.*

[2] Mk xiii. 4.

very well be what is called the prophetic present, "we *are on the point of going* up"—may have been suggested by the fact that the next stage mentioned in the journey is (Mk x. 46) the low-lying city of Jericho, from whence the literal "*going up*" to Jerusalem would begin. Then, μέλλων, "purposing," might be written in the margin, so as to mean that Jesus said this, not as yet *actually* going up, but "*purposing*" to do so. This would be made clearer by repeating "to go up," and the result would be a statement about Jesus *alone*, "Jesus, *purposing to go* up," which is Matthew's reading.

[**1247**] But if the marginal word were written μέλλον, owing to the frequent (**966** *a*) use of *o* for *ω* by illiterate writers—which many early Christian scribes and Evangelists would probably be—it might be taken by later and less illiterate editors as the neuter, meaning "*the future*." By others it might be emended into ἔμελλον, "*they were purposing*." In the former case, "He said *the future*" would be taken to mean "*He predicted that which was about to happen*." The latter course, emendation, would result in a statement about *Jesus and the disciples, not Jesus alone*, that they were *all* "purposing to go up." These two readings ("*they* were purposing," "the *future*"), being conflated and harmonized, might result in a tradition in which the "*purposing*" was dropped (though the plural "*they*" was retained), and in which the main stress was laid on the "*future*," so as to produce Mark's present text, which declares that Jesus and the disciples were all "going up" and that Jesus "began to say the things that were about to happen to him."

[**1248**] If Matthew found an appearance of inconsistency in a narrative that represented Jesus as "purposing" to go up (*i.e.* not yet actually going up) and yet as saying to the disciples, "we *are going* up," he seems to have surmounted the difficulty by describing the "saying" as an act *subsequent* to the act of "taking the disciples apart privately." According to his view, when Jesus was purposing to go up, He *first* took

the disciples privately apart, so as to separate them from the multitude; *afterwards*, when they were actually on the road, He said to them, "Behold, *we are going* up." At the same time, Matthew transposes "in the way" from Mark's position ("*in the way* going up") and connects it thus, "*in the way* he said to them"—so as to indicate that the words were not uttered till they were actually on the journey[1].

[**1249**] It is not contended that Matthew is right in finding these difficulties or in making these rearrangements, but merely that he recognizes a difficulty, and that the difficulty was consequently a very early one. Many authorities omit "purposing" in Matthew. Others transpose "in the way." For example, the Syriac has "And, when Jesus *was going* up to Jerusalem, he *had* taken with him his Twelve in the way and said to them between himself and them"—where the pluperfect allows us to suppose that the "taking," and possibly the speaking too, preceded the journey.

[**1250**] Another reason why Luke may have omitted "*in*

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[1] [**1248** *a*] Another possibility is that the prophetic present, "*we are going up*," was expressed in the original Hebrew thus, "He began to teach them [saying] '[*It is*] *decreed* to go up'" (comp. Mk viii. 31 "He began to teach them, '*It is decreed* (δεῖ) that the Son of man should suffer'"). This might be confused with "He began to teach them *that which was decreed* [saying] '[We are] to go up,'" where "*that which was decreed*" might be rendered into Greek by "*the things that were to befal him* (*τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβαίνειν*)" as in Mark, or more fully, as in Luke, "*the fulfilment of those things which were written in the prophets...*" (Comp. Mt. xvii. 12 *μέλλει* with Mk ix. 12 *γέγραπται ἵνα*.) This, when turned into direct speech, would become, "There shall be fulfilled those things...."

[**1248** *b*] The Syriac has the same word, עתיד, to express *μέλλοντα* in Mark here, *μέλλει* in Mt. xvii. 12, and *δεῖ* in Mark viii. 31. This word, in Hebrew, means "ready," "prepared," "destined" (see below **1252** *a*, **1253** *a*). Hence Matthew might take it as meaning, "He began to teach them *being ready* (*μέλλων*) to go up."

Of course the possibility of an original עתיד, translated by Mark *μέλλω*, does not exclude the possibility of divergences subsequently arising out of Greek corruptions and ambiguities of *μέλλω*.

the way" may have been that he regarded "the *Way*" as having a metaphorical meaning (which it frequently has in the Acts), namely, the Way of life, or the Way of Christian doctrine, for example, "speaking evil of *the Way*," "a tumult about *the Way*," "knowing the facts about *the Way*[1]." According to this interpretation, what Matthew renders "said to them *in the way*" may have originally meant that Jesus "said to them *in his doctrine*." As His doctrine was that the Messiah must suffer according to the Law and the Prophets, Luke—being aware that the expression had been misunderstood and literalised—may have defined and paraphrased it thus, "said to them...*there shall be accomplished all things that are written by the prophets*...." But as has been shewn above (**1248** *a*, *b*), this amplification might also be suggested by a Hebrew word meaning not only "*future*" but also "*prepared* [*by God*]."

[**1251**] If these explanations are correct, Luke would seem to have been led to amplify ("there shall be accomplished...prophets...") the words of Jesus in attempting to explain their precise meaning. Mark, on the other hand, may have added a phrase to his narrative ("to tell them those things that were destined to befal him") in attempting to do the same thing. Either of these phenomena, but especially any transmutation of mere narrative into Words of the Lord, is, if true, a fact of supreme importance in Gospel criticism. It is therefore worth while to add an illustrative instance at once from some very ancient versions of Mark.

[1] Acts xix. 9, 23, xxiv. 22.

§ 3. *Transmutation of narrative to Words of the Lord in Mark* (viii. 32 [*v.r.*])

[**1252**] The instance in question comes in a clause at the end of Mark's version of the first prediction of the Passion and the Resurrection. Matthew and Luke, who agree with Mark as to the prediction, both omit the clause. Matthew's omission is all the more striking because both he and Mark introduce at this point a remonstrance from Peter (omitted by Luke) and the two Evangelists agree almost *verbatim*, as will be seen below:

Mk viii. 31–2

"And he began to teach them that 'It is necessary[1] for the Son of man to suffer many things..... and after three days to arise': *and with freedom spake he the word.* And having taken him, Peter began to rebuke him..."

Mt. xvi. 21–2

"From that time began Jesus Christ to shew to his disciples that it is necessary[1] for him .....and to suffer many things..... and on the third day to be raised up. ∧ And having taken him, Peter began to rebuke him..."

Mk viii. 31–2 (Syr.)

"And he had begun to teach them, 'The Son of man is appointed[1] to suffer much.....and the third day he will arise *and openly speak the word.*'"

(Codex Bobb.)

"And he began to say to them that 'It is necessary[1] for the Son of man to suffer many things... and to be killed and [et occidi(e)t] after the third day to rise again *and with confidence to speak the word.*'"

[1] [**1252** *a*] "Necessary," "appointed," represent Gk δεῖ, Latin "oportet," Syr. עתיד. Mr Burkitt renders עתיד "about to." Comp. Job iii. 8 עתידים, LXX and Sym. μέλλων or μέλλοντες, Aq. παρεσκευασμένοι, Theod. ἕτοιμοι. In view of the Gk δεῖ, and the meaning of עתיד in New Heb. (Levy iii. 713 *a*), "die messianische Zeit," the word may be supposed to be intended in the Syriac to imply "*preparation (by God)*," i.e. divine decree.

[1253] The Arabic Diatessaron has "And henceforth began Jesus to shew to his disciples that he was appointed[1] to...suffer much, and be rejected, and *to speak*[2] *plainly*."

[1254] It would be easy to shew that Mark's peculiar tradition, "and *with freedom* spake he the word," may be explained as a conflation springing from the previous word, "*arise*[3]." But space does not allow of more than the briefest indication of such an explanation. The point for us here is not a conjectural explanation, but a fact—that three such ancient authorities as the Sinaitic Syrian, the Arabic Diates-

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[1] [**1253** *a*] Mr Hogg has "he was determined"; but, in note, "The word is freely used in this work in the post-classical sense of '*about to*,'" which is Mr Burkitt's rendering of עתיד both here and in Mk x. 32 *μέλλοντα*. Mr Hogg's rendering is an interesting illustration of the way in which Matthew may have been led to apply *μέλλων* to "Jesus," as meaning that *He* "purposed," although the Original probably meant "*It* is purposed, decreed &c."

[2] [**1253** *b*] Mr Hogg has, in text, "And he was speaking...." But he adds, in note, "The Arabic might perhaps be construed, 'and to speak,' depending on *began*: but the clause agrees with the Sinaitic of Mark." Mr Burkitt's version of the Sinaitic of Mark has "he will arise and... speak," without any alternative; and, as Mr Hogg says that the Arabic follows the Sinaitic, I have placed "to speak" in the text above as part of Christ's utterance. If "to speak" might depend on "began," it seems that it might equally well depend on "appointed" (ed. "determined").

[3] [**1254** *a*] Mk viii. 32 *παρρησίᾳ*. The word occurs nowhere else in the Synoptic Gospels. In the LXX, it occurs, as rendering a Hebrew word, *only once*, describing the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, Lev. xxvi. 13 "and made you go *upright* (קוממיות)," LXX *ἤγαγον ὑμᾶς μετὰ παρρησίας*. But another version (Field) has *ἀνισταμένους*, "*being made to arise*," which is the word that preceded *παρρησίᾳ* in Mk (*ἀναστῆναι καὶ παρρησίᾳ*). Perhaps some Hebrew Targum (on the Gospel prediction of "*raising up*") suggested that the Lord would not only "be raised up" but also deliver His people as in days of old (Lev. xxvi. 13), making them go "upright [in freedom]." Onkelos (in Lev. xxvi. 13) has "*guided* (דבריית) you in(to) liberty," Jer. Targ. has "*guided* (דבריית) you from among them the children of liberty, and made you go with stature (קומא) raised up." But דבר, which means in Aramaic "*guide*," means in Hebrew "*speak*." Hence might arise a confusion between "*guide* in freedom" and "*speak* freely." See also Appendix IV. on Mk viii. 32.

saron (which should always have great weight when we can be sure that it is not conformed to modern texts), and the Codex Bobbiensis, agree in representing as a Word of the Lord what the extant text of Mark gives as an Evangelic statement. Possibly these three authorities are right, and they may point to some version of Mark, or Mark's Original, more ancient and accurate than ours. But the bearing of the facts on the passage under discussion is this, that it increases the probability of a similar error, or its converse, in this passage, by shewing how easily it might occur in any passage.

§ 4. *Luke's deviations from Mark* (x. 32–4)

[**1255**] We now return to the words bracketed above (**1245**) in the prediction on the way to Jerusalem. Dealing in the first place with Luke's deviations from Mark, we find that here Luke again, as he did in the first prediction (**1215**) —but there it was Mark with Luke, here it is Luke alone— asserts, *in three clauses*, that the disciples were ignorant of the meaning of Christ's prediction. On the other hand, he omits all mention of the "delivering up" of Jesus to *the Jews*, mentioning only the delivering up to *the Gentiles*. These differences, and also the stress laid by Luke above on "*ignorant*," "veiled," and here on "hidden," "perceived not" &c., invite us to consider how far the narratives may have been influenced by various interpretations of such parts of Isaiah's prophecy concerning the Suffering Servant as might seem to distinguish (1) between *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and (2) between some transgressions that might be, and others that might not be, excused on the ground of *ignorance*.

[**1256**] Let us suppose that the original Hebrew Gospel followed the tradition mentioned above (**1160–2**) as derived from Isaiah (liii. 12) "shall make intercession for (lit. to) the transgressors," and that the verb was rendered into Greek by the verb employed in Isaiah by the LXX, "*be delivered up*."

Also, let us suppose that the dative was taken, as it naturally would be in Greek, to mean "*to*," not "*for*." In that case, if "the transgressors" meant "*the Jews*," or those of the Jews who were the real causes of Christ's death, then a correct and natural interpretation would be "the chief priests and the scribes." Now these two titles are frequently combined to mean the Sanhedrin, and the latter is commonly called the "House of *Judgment* (דין)." Hence, by conflation, might possibly be obtained "the chief priests and the scribes *who will judge him*"; and, as the Hebrew "*judge(ment)*" often means "*judge unfavourably*," i.e. "*condemn*[1]," this might give rise to "the chief priests and the scribes *who will condemn him*," which Mark may have amplified by adding "to death." All this Luke has omitted—and justifiably on the hypothesis of its being an interpolated explanation.

[**1257**] If "to the transgressors" meant "*to the Gentiles*," an Evangelist interpreting thus might naturally mention them alone. This Luke has done. Another course would be to combine the "delivering up" to the Gentiles with a previous "delivering up" to the Jews. This is what Mark and Matthew have done.

§ 5. "*They shall mock him...*"

[**1258**] As we are dealing merely with "delivering up," we have no concern with the details of the predicted Passion, except so far as they may bear on the meaning and context of "delivering up" in the Original. The phenomena suggest

[1] [**1256** *a*] The Heb. verb דין often means "execute judgment," i.e. *punish*; but even in this sense it is rendered in the LXX by κρίνω, "*judge*." Κατακρίνω is never used in Heb. LXX except Esth. ii. 1 "what was decreed (גזר) against her," but it is freq. in N.T.

[**1256** *b*] But another explanation is possible. The regular Hebrew for ἄνομος is רשע (פשע being quite exceptional): but הרשע, "the transgressor," might easily be confused with הרשיע "condemn" (lit. "make a transgressor"). Comp. Job ix. 20 "shall *condemn* me," LXX "shall *be impious*," Job xxxiv. 17 "*condemn*," LXX "*wicked*."

that the details did not proceed from our Lord. Had they done so, would there not have been a closer agreement in the Synoptists? In particular, Mark and Luke could hardly have omitted the prediction of "*crucifying*," had it been known to them as authoritative. Nor would Matthew probably have omitted the prediction of "*spitting*"; for he is fond of recording fulfilments of prophecy, and this detail is found in Isaiah[1].

[**1259**] A comparison of the Gospel passages, and early traditions, about "spitting," "piercing," "mocking," and "crucifying," indicates that many of them go back to the Biblical tradition of Zechariah[2], "They shall look to me whom they *pierced*." This, owing to a reversal of the letters of דקר, "*pierce*," has been rendered by the LXX "they *mocked in a dance of triumph*," רקד. The Johannine Gospel and the Apocalypse both deviate from the LXX and adopt the reading "*pierced*," which is also that of Aquila and Theodotion.

[**1260**] In the earliest stages of the Gospel, before literary controversies had arisen between Jews and Christians, Evangelists might naturally adhere to the LXX translation, only using the more common word "mock," ἐμπαίζω (instead of "mock in a dance of triumph," κατορχοῦμαι). But παίζω, fut. παίξω, "mock," is confusable with παίω, fut. παίσω, "strike." Such confusion, or interchange, is noted by the grammarians in Plato[3]. And in the very chapter of Ze-

[1] Is. l. 6 "My face I hid not from shame and *spitting*."

[2] [**1259** *a*] Zech. xii. 10, quoted in Jn xix. 37 "they shall look to *him* whom they pierced," and comp. Rev. i. 7. The Targum has (Walton) "Rogabunt a facie mea eo quod *translati fuerint* (אטלטלו)" (i.e. *carried into captivity*, lit. *shaken hither and thither*).

[3] [**1260** *a*] Steph. *Thes.* quoting Photius, Suidas, and Hermias on Plato's repeated use of προσέπαισε for προσέπαιξε. Comp. Prov. xxiii. 35 "*beaten* (הלם)," ἐνέπαιξαν, Theod. ἀνεκρότησαν (parall. to LXX τύπτουσι, Sym. ἔπληξαν), and Sir. xlvii. 3 ἔπαιζεν, ℵB^{ab} ἔπαιξεν, C ἔπαισεν. For προσπαίζω, "mock," see Sir. viii. 5 (הכלים), μὴ πρόσπαιζε ἀπαιδεύτῳ.

[**1260** *b*] In many MSS, αι is habitually used for ε, and *vice versa*.

chariah above quoted, the Hebrew "*wound* (שרט)" is rendered by the LXX "*mock*," but by Theodotion "*lacerate* and *gash*[1]."

[**1261**] Moreover those who followed the LXX in reversing the letters of דקר so as to make רקד might take the root as רק "spittle"—having in view the saying of Isaiah about "shame and spitting[2]." And it so happens that the Greek for "they spat on," ΕΠΤΥΟΝ, somewhat resembles the Greek for "they struck," ΕΤΥΠΤΟΝ: and the two words are used by Mark in close proximity, on the only occasion on which he uses the latter[3]. Hence might arise a number of oral traditions in Greek Gospels connecting "*spitting*" and "*smiting*" and "*piercing*," or interchanging them—and all the more because the notion that Christ endured these sufferings would agree with the pagan treatment of a human victim on the rare occasions on which one was offered as an "offscouring" for the community[4].

Comp. Lk. xxii. 63 ℵD *ἐνέπεζον* (ℵ —*αν*) for *ἐνέπαιζον*. Hence *ἐνέπαιξαν*, being written *ἐνέπεξαν*, might be corrected to *ἐνέπηξαν*, "they nailed [on the cross]." And so *προσέπαιξαν*, "they mocked," might be confused with *προσέπηξαν*, "they crucified." Comp. Acts ii. 23 *προσπήξαντες*.

[1] [**1260** *c*] Zech. xii. 3, LXX *ἐμπαίζων ἐμπαίξεται*, Theod. *σπαρασσόμενος ἀμυχθήσεται*, expressing the reduplicated Heb. "wound shall be wounded."

[2] Is. l. 6.

[3] Mk xv. 19 *καὶ ἔτυπτον...καὶ ἐνέπτυον* (*i.e.* ΕΠΤΥΟΝ).

[4] [**1261** *a*] Comp. Wetst. on 1 Cor. iv. 13 *περικαθάρματα*, quoting Libanius O. xxiv. p. 569 C *κέκραγεν, ἀπειλεῖ, τύπτει, πάντας ἡγεῖται καθάρματα*. This pagan custom had perhaps crept into Jewish usage, in some instances—not of course in human sacrifice, but in the treatment of the scape-goat. Barnabas (vii. 8) actually quotes as Scripture—after the Levitical precept (Lev. xvi. 7) "Take two goats," and as a part of it—"*Spit* on it all of you and *pierce* it." No precept of this kind is found either in the Bible or in the Talmud. On the contrary, the Mishna in j. *Joma* vi. 4 (Schwab, v. 235) says that a special exit was constructed for the scape-goat to prevent its maltreatment by "the Babylonians" (Schw. "terme désignant la populace") whom the Gemara apparently calls "the Alexandrians." These Babylonians tried to "pull out the hairs" of the

[**1262**] Later on, during controversies with the Jews, some Christian Evangelists might recognize that the true reading of the prophecy was "they *pierced*," and then they might either interpret this as meaning pierced with the nails of the cross, i.e. *crucified*; or "*thrust through*," ἐκκεντῶ (Aquila's word), which is used in the Johannine Gospel and the Apocalypse[1], and which implies a spear; or "pricked," *νύσσω*, which might imply a pointed stick, or "reed" (the noun used in Mark and Matthew[2]) and not necessarily a "spear" (as in John[3]). Thus the *Acts of John* represents Jesus as saying "I am being pricked (*νύσσομαι*) with *spears* and *reeds*"—which connects the "pricking" (mentioned in the Fourth Gospel alone) with "*reed*" as well as with "*spear*." The Gospel of Peter has "others *pricked* him with a *reed*," combining the Johannine verb ("prick") with the Synoptic noun ("reed")[4].

[**1263**] More extraordinary than any of these variations is the fact that Luke, although he mentions "spitting" in Christ's prediction here (xviii. 32), omits all mention of it in the Passion; where the other Synoptists mention it twice—once as the act of the Jews, once as the act of the Roman soldiers[5]. The explanation of this is probably in part doc-

goat; comp. Is. l. 6 "them that pulled out the hairs," Heb. מרטים, LXX *ῥαπίσματα*. Tertullian describes the scape-goat as (*Adv. Jud.* 14) "reviled, spit on, lacerated, and gashed": also (following Barnabas vii. 8) as "surrounded with *scarlet*," as to which it may be worth noting that LXX renders (Nah. ii. 3) "*scarlet* (מתלעים)" by *ἐμπαίζοντας*, "*mocking*."

[1] Jn xix. 37, Rev. i. 7.

[2] Mk xv. 19, Mt. xxvii. 30.

[3] Jn xix. 34.

[4] [**1262** *a*] Νύσσω in N.T. occurs only in Jn xix. 34 [Mt. xxvii. 49 W.H. brack.]. But comp. *Act. Joann.* 12 *λόγχαις νύσσομαι καὶ καλάμοις*, *Evang. Petr.* 3 *καλάμῳ ἔνυσσον αὐτόν*. Dionysius describes a martyr (Euseb. vi. 41. 3) as having "his body beaten (*παίοντες*) with cudgels, and his face and eyes pierced (*κεντοῦντες*) with sharp reeds (*καλάμοις*)." *Evang. Petr.* 3 *ἐνέπτυον αὐτοῦ ταῖς ὄψεσι*, describes the "spitting" as on "the eyes."

[5] Mk xiv. 65, Mt. xxvi. 67; Mk xv. 19, Mt. xxvii. 30.

trinal or ethical, in part textual. Dealing with our Lord's own utterance, Luke would not feel justified in making any change in Mark's recorded word, ἐμπτύω: but, dealing with historical statements as to its fulfilment, he might argue that some forms of this word are frequently used metaphorically to express contempt, and might therefore refer to mere mockery[1]. This might also accord with his notions of seemliness; and he might be very willing to sever himself from the scape-goat traditions mentioned by Barnabas.

[**1264**] But further it should be noted that, in describing the first "*spitting*," Mark mentions a "*bandaging of the face*" as well as "*spitting*," Matthew "*spitting*" alone without "*bandaging*," Luke "*bandaging*" alone without "*spitting*." Now these facts suggest as their origin an early Greek tradition in which περιπτύσαντες τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, "rejecting him, lit. his person," has been taken (1) literally as "spitting on his face," (2) as περιπτύξαντες τ. π. αὐ., *i.e.* "folding-round his face." Confusions of forms of πτύω and πτύσσω are known to have occurred in classical authors[2];

[1] Comp. Simplic. on Epict. p. 278, περιπτύοντες τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Comp. Fr. "conspuer." Elsewhere, however, Simplicius (*ib.* pp. 52, 66, 103, 135, 144, 229) uses the word to mean despising *things*, not persons.

[2] [**1264** *a*] See Hesych. Διαπτύσαι, διαπτερῶσαι, ἀνευρῦναι, διαστῆσαι, where διαπτύσαι is amended to διαπτύξαι by Steph. and Hemst., the latter adding "Nempe σ et ξ innumeris vicibus in nostro permutata." Steph. *Thes.* διαπτύσσω quotes "Philo de somno p. 1125, D (sic) βίβλους... διαπτύοντες," correcting to διαπτύσσοντες, and says that in Plat. *Leg.* ix. 858 E διαπτυττόμενα there is, in marg. cod. Flor., διαπτυόμενα.

[**1264** *b*] No instance is alleged where περιπτύσσω is used for περικαλύπτω. But the Greek corruption of περιπτύσας into περιπτύξας and then the substitution of περικαλύψας for the latter, might be facilitated by some combination of the traditions (Is. l. 6) "shame and *spitting*," Ps. lxix. 7 "Shame hath *covered* my face." It is also possible that Is. liii. 3 may have influenced the tradition of "bandaging": it is variously rendered (D. and N. pp. 1—51), by Greek and Jewish authorities, "We hid" and "he hid," "face" and "faces," "from him" and "from us." The Syriac renders Lk. xxii. 64 "they *hid* his face."

and indeed in Mark (x. 34), instead of ἐμπτύσουσιν, "will spit on," D reads ἐνπτύξουσιν, which ought to mean "will enfold."

[1265] On these grounds we are led in the first place to a negative conclusion, that the details of humiliation mentioned in the prediction on the way to Jerusalem cannot be accepted as proceeding directly from any common origin, nor from the mere mistranslation of Hebrew originals, and still less as coming from the lips of Jesus Himself. But there is also a positive conclusion or probability based on the fact that Luke includes these details, though he is by no means servile in adherence to Mark elsewhere. In the descent from the Mountain of Transfiguration, Mark and Matthew attribute to Jesus a mention of "rising from the dead"; Luke does not[1]. In the prediction in Galilee, Mark and Matthew, besides "delivering up," add a mention of "being killed and rising again"; Luke once more omits this addition[2]. In the present passage, Luke omits all that Mark and Matthew insert about "the chief priests and scribes." Why then does Luke in this same passage insert Mark's details of humiliation except because he is obliged to do so by a belief that they are historical? Can it be said that he is prepossessed in their favour? On the contrary, it has been shewn that he apparently dislikes at least one important detail ("the spitting"), and, in any case, that he omits it on two occasions when he comes to the narrative of the Passion.

[1266] This leads us to an important inference, namely, that although the predictions of humiliation are non-historical, they may be—and indeed, not improbably, are—derived indirectly and remotely from some word or words in the Original uttered (or reported to have been uttered) by our

[1] Mk ix. 9—10, Mt. xvii. 9, Lk. ix. 36.
[2] Mk ix. 31, Mt. xvii. 22–3, Lk. ix. 44.

Lord on this occasion, which He was not reported to have uttered in the earlier prediction in Galilee: and Luke's evidence, under the circumstances, is of such importance as to make it necessary to ask what word or words this might most naturally be.

§ 6. Is. liii. 10 "*Trespass-offering*," *or* "*Asham*" (אשם)

[**1267**] The only word in *The Suffering Servant* that suggests an offering for sin occurs in the passage translated by R.V. "When thou shalt make his soul (marg. "his soul shall make") an *offering for sin*." The Jewish interpretations mostly adopt the marginal rendering, "*His soul shall make* a trespass-offering[1]." The LXX has "If *ye give* [an offering] for sin[2], [y]our (**1199** *a*) soul (shall see)...."

[**1268**] The word *asham*, here used by Isaiah, means both "trespass" and "trespass-offering." The LXX, which usually distinguishes this from "sin" or "sin-offering," fails to make the distinction here[3]. If it is not made, a Christian translator would deduce from the passage that God "made the soul of Christ a sin-offering, or sin, for mankind." But "*soul*" in Hebrew often (**1326**) corresponds to "*person*," or

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[1] D. and N. pp. 1—56 (where the word is regularly translated "trespass-offering"). But R. Sa'adyah Gaon (p. 18) says, "If his soul *becomes* a trespass-offering for sin."

[2] [**1267** *a*] Ἐὰν δῶτε περὶ ἁμαρτίας. The change of תשים to ישים (favoured by Ewald and Cheyne) would make the meaning "When *he shall make* his soul an offering for sin." The Targum departs completely from the Bible, thus, "It was the pleasure of Jehovah to refine and purify the remnant of his people for the sake of cleansing from sin their souls."

[3] [**1268** *a*] Tromm. quotes three other instances where the LXX renders *asham* "sin," or "sin offering," Lev. v. 7, Numb. xviii. 9, and 2 K. xii. 16 (where however LXX may have simply reversed "trespass," πλημμελείας, and "sin," ἁμαρτίας, as Field supposes). The noun אשמה = Lev. iv. 3 ἁμαρτεῖν, Aq. πλημμέλησιν, 1 Chr. xxi. 3 ἁμαρτίαν (al. exempl. πλημμέλειαν).

"*self*," in Greek, so that a Greek, or one writing for Greeks, might express the deduction in the words, "He made Christ sin for mankind." Hence, it is highly probable that this is the passage from which, directly or indirectly, St Paul derived the startling words "Him that knew not sin *he made sin for us*[1]." The Apostle does not quote Isaiah for it, and he may have had in mind not only the prophecy but also some early tradition of a Logion of the Lord based on the prophecy.

[**1269**] Supposing the word *asham* to have occurred, either in the words of the Lord, or in some apostolic explanation of them, it might in the first place suggest the need of a further explanation to bring out the notion of punishment or pain attached to the Messiah as being an *asham*: and in this aspect it may be noted that the word is four times rendered "*torment*" by the LXX[2]. As a verb, too, *asham* is sometimes so used as to make it hard to say whether the meaning is "be punished" or "acknowledge guilt[3]." The former view ("being punished") might facilitate the introduction (from prophecy) of clauses about "spitting," "scourging" &c.

[**1270**] Again, the word might also lead to the introduction of clauses about "ignorance" for the following reasons.

[1] [**1268** *b*] 2 Cor. v. 21 "Him that knew not sin *he made sin* for us that we might *become the righteousness* of God in him." The antithesis —if we substitute in Isaiah "him" for "soul" and "sin" for "trespass offering"—corresponds to an antithesis in Isaiah (liii. 11—12) "When thou shalt *make him sin*...by his knowledge shall my righteous servant *make many righteous*."

[2] [**1269** *a*] 1 S. vi. 3, 4, 8, 17, always in the mouths of the Philistines. Did the translators desire to suggest that the Philistines took a barbarous and superstitious view of what was due to Jehovah?

[3] [**1269** *b*] The LXX, in the five following instances, render it by ἀφανίζεσθαι (perh. "be punished by destruction": but see **1273** *b*): Prov. xxx. 10 (R.V.) "be held guilty," Hos. v. 15 (R.V.) "acknowledge their offence," marg. "have borne their guilt," Hos. x. 2 (R.V.) "shall be found guilty," Hos. xiii. 16 (R.V.) "shall bear her guilt," marg. and A.V. "shall become desolate," Joel i. 18 (R.V.) "are made desolate," marg. "suffer punishment."

In the first passage where it occurs, the LXX, by itself, (Gen. xxvi. 10 "Thou hast brought *ignorance* (ἄγνοιαν) on us") would convey no notion of the real meaning, which is "Thou wouldst have brought *guilt* on us"; and the latter is the rendering of Aquila and Symmachus. The noun does not occur again till the Levitical enactments about uncleanness ignorantly incurred, as to which it is declared that, though "*it be hidden from him*," yet he shall be "guilty" and shall bring his "*trespass-offering*[1]," where Onkelos has "sin-offering," but the Jerusalem Targum has "the offering of his trespass-offering[2]."

[**1271**] This difference between the Targumists indicates that a technical word of this kind might easily call for explanations that might give rise to glosses. For example, the Biblical Hebrew itself prepares the way for the enactments concerning the *asham* by the clause (Lev. v. 2) "if it be *hidden* (עלם) from him," where the Targums have "*veiled* (forms of כסי) from him." But Luke has precisely these two clauses, one in each of the two predictions, "it was *veiled* from them that they might not perceive it[3]," and "this word was *hidden* from them[4]." Again, later on, the Levitical code twice uses a second defining clause (Lev. v. 17, 18) "though he *knew it not*, yet is he guilty...he erred unwittingly and *knew it not*." Similarly Luke has, in the first prediction, "But they were *ignorant* of this word," and, in the second, "And they *knew* (imperf.) *not* the things that were being said."

[1] Lev. v. 2—6.

[2] [**1270** *a*] See Levy, *Ch.* i. 72 *b* "Auffallend hat O. in Lev. v. 6 חובתיה für Tw. אשמו... J. hat hier richtig קרבן אשמיה." Two MSS of Onk. have אשמיה, "trespass-offering." R.V. gives txt. "guilt-offering," marg. "trespass-offering." Neither term clearly expresses the meaning that is sometimes attached by LXX to אשם, namely, "ignorance." But we must bear in mind that the Hebrew has two words אשם and חטא, and that the former, *asham*, is 5 or 6 times rendered by LXX "ignorance (ἄγνοια, ἀγνοῶ)," but the latter never. The latter, which in LXX regularly =ἁμαρτία, is freq. expressed in Aramaic by חובא, "debt."

[3] Lk. ix. 45. [4] Lk. xviii. 34.

[**1272**] But again, the word used here by Luke to express "*veiled*" occurs only here in N.T. and only twice in LXX: Ezek. xxii. 26 (LXX) "they *veiled* their eyes from my sabbaths," that is, as Aquila and Symmachus render it, "ignored[1]"; Is. xliv. 8 (LXX) "Be not ye *veiled*, neither go astray," where the Hebrew has "*fear* (פחד) not, neither be ye afraid." Perhaps the LXX, in the latter passage, paraphrased "*fear* not" as "be not *veiled*, or *darkened*, with fear"; but whatever be the explanation, the passage may bear on the context of the first prediction (especially as, both in Greek and in Hebrew, a man is said to (Greek) "veil himself," or (Hebrew) "cover his head," in token of *sorrow*). Matthew alone uses the word "sorrowful" here; the others vary as follows:

Mk ix. 32	Mt. xvii. 23	Lk. ix. 45
"But they were ignorant of the word, and they *feared* to ask him further."	"And they were *very sorrowful*."	"But they were ignorant of this word, and it was veiled from them that they should not perceive it, and they *feared* to ask him about this word."

[**1273**] With these must be compared the passage peculiar to Mark introducing the second prediction (x. 32) "And they were *amazed*, but those who were following *feared*." In Greek, a man might be said to "veil himself" or "cover his head" not only in *sorrow* but also when shrinking in *fear* from some terrible object; and it is possible that a Hebrew gloss "it was *veiled from them*," being taken as "it was *veiled by them*," might be paraphrased as (1) "*they veiled themselves from* it,"

[1] [1272 *a*] Heb. hiph. of עלם, Aquila ὑπερείδον, Symmachus παρέβλεπον. In Lk. "hide" = κρύπτω: "veil" = παρακαλύπτω. In LXX, עלם = παρακαλύπτω (1); but compounds of καλύπτω more freq. correspond to כסה, which = περικαλύπτω (1), συγκαλύπτω (7) &c.

i.e. "they shut their eyes to the future, and would not ask about it because they feared," or (2) "they were covered with sorrow[1]." But this point must be left uncertain, not because of the want, but because of the excess, of possible explanations[2].

[1] [**1273** *a*] For compounds of καλύπτω used to denote "covering the head in *sorrow*," see Field, *Otium* on Mk xiv. 72 quoting *Charit. Aphrod.* i. 1—3 ἐγκεκαλυμμένη and συγκαλυψαμένη, and comparing Esth. vi. 12 λυπούμενος κατὰ κεφαλῆς, Heb. "with his head covered." Still more to the point for our purpose are the instances of the pilot who befriends Arion, and who is described as (Plutarch II. 161 D) "*veiling himself* (παρακαλυπτόμενον)" that he may not see Arion's death, and of Caesar (*ib.* I. 651 D, *Vit. Pomp.* lx.) who, on the point of passing the Rubicon, "closed the mind's eye and *ignored* (lit. *veiled himself* towards, παρακαλυψάμενος πρὸς) the peril."

But glosses about "amazement" might also spring from *asham*, which (**1269** *b*) is five times rendered by LXX ἀφανίζω, presumably reading אשם as a form of שמם, "amaze," "desolate" (see **1273** *b*).

[2] The excess arises from the following facts.

[**1273** *b*] (i) The Hebrew אשם is peculiarly liable to be confused with other words. Besides being confused with שום in Hos. xiii. 1, it is five times rendered "destroy," ἀφανίζω, by LXX, being apparently confused with יטמם, which = (21) ἀφανίζω. But שמם means also to be "dismayed" or "astounded," so that it might explain Mk's (x. 32) θαμβεῖσθαι and φοβεῖσθαι as well as Mt.'s (xvii. 23) λυπεῖσθαι and Mk's parall. (ix. 32) φοβεῖσθαι. Levy i. 178 *b*, quoting *Sanhedr.* 97 *a* יאשם, "wird zerstört werden," adds, "In den Parall. steht, וישום."

[**1273** *c*] (ii) The word is liable to be amplified by glosses (besides those mentioned above (**1271**) "not known," "hidden"). The Bible connects אשם with שגה "commit a sin of ignorance." But the Targum word for שגה is שלי ("be at ease," "neglect," "forget") which is confused (Ezra vi. 9 "without fail," LXX "ask") with שאל "ask" (comp. 1 S. i. 17 "petition," text שלה for שאלה, and Levy, *Ch.* ii. 486 *a* quotes Ps. cxix. 67 Targ. שלי (MS שאלי)). Hence the reduplicative phrase (in forms of שלי), used in Onk. and Jer. in connexion with the *asham* (Lev. v. 18) "the ignorant sin in which they ignorantly sinned," might be broken up, as the LXX often breaks up such reduplications, into two distinct words "they *forgot*, or *neglected*, to *ask*."

[**1273** *d*] (iii) We have seen above (**1270** *a*) that Onk. uses the word "*sin*" where Jer. Targ. has more correctly the word "trespass." But the Aramaic for "*sin*," חובא (Heb. חוב "debt"), might be confused with חבא "*hide*," and this is taken as "*fear*" by Theod. (Dan. x. 7). Hence "*sin*" might be confused with "*fear*." Thus—since (**1273** *c*) "ignorantly commit" might be confused with "ask"—"*sin...ignorantly commit*" might give rise to "they *feared* to *ask*."

[1274] Traditions arising out of the connexion of *asham* with "sins of ignorance" might coincide, or collide, with other traditions arising out of a controversy as to the "transgressors" for whom the Messiah interceded, some maintaining that the Gentiles alone, others that Jews as well as Gentiles, "knew not what they did." This consideration introduces many complications, and perhaps it may be impossible ever to restore the exact words uttered by Christ on this occasion. Still, there remains a fairly probable conclusion, namely, that the special emphasis laid by Luke here upon "not understanding," and "not knowing," and "being hidden," arises not from the Evangelist's own comment but from Hebrew glosses of *some* kind. There is also a fair probability that the glosses tended to explain what was meant by the statement that the Messiah should be "delivered up for transgressors as an *asham*." And there is a still greater probability, amounting almost to certainty, that in both predictions our Lord did not speak about being "delivered up *to* men," but used some phrase implying that His death was to be a service and sacrifice *for* men, or *for* transgressors.

§ 7. Mk x. 45 (Mt. xx. 28) "*To give his soul a ransom for many*"

[1275] The word *asham* is in six instances rendered "*ransoming*" by an unknown translator of Leviticus[1]. This is an obvious rendering for it when it means a "trespass-offering," by which one may be said to "ransom" oneself from the consequences of the trespass. Hence our interest in the special word *asham*—as well as the importance of any words of our Lord describing Himself as giving "*ransom*"—leads us to consider at this point the following remarkable deviation of Luke from Matthew and Mark:

[1] Λύτρωσις (Field) Lev. v. 18, vi. 6, 17, vii. 1, 37, xiv. 12.

Mk x. 43–5

"But whosoever would become great among you, shall be your minister; and whosoever would be first among you, shall be the (bond)servant of all. For verily the Son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, *and to give his soul a ransom for many.*"

Mt. xx. 26–8

"But whosoever would become great among you, shall be your minister; and whosoever would be first among you, shall be your (bond)servant; even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, *and to give his soul a ransom for many.*"

After "for many," D (and sim. SS) has "But seek ye from [being] a little one to increase and [SS + not] from being greater to be less. But when ye come in and are invited to sup recline not in the chief places...."

Lk. xxii. 26–7

"But the greater (*i.e.* elder) among you let him become as the younger; and he that leadeth as he that ministereth. For who is greater, he that reclineth [at meat] or he that ministereth? Is not[1] he that reclineth? But I am in the midst of you as he that ministereth."

Lk. xxii. 26–7 (D)

"But the greater among you let him become as the less; and he that leadeth as the minister rather than he that reclineth [at meat]. For I in the midst of you came not as he that reclineth but as he that ministereth; and ye have increased in my ministry as he that ministereth."

[1] [1275 *a*] The Latin codices *a*, *e*, and Corb. have—in answer to the question, "Who is greater...?"—"in gentibus quidem qui recumbit," implying that the man reclining is not "greater" really, but only "in [the eyes of] the Gentiles."

[**1276**] Why does Luke here reject Mark's (and Matthew's) distinction between "the *minister*" and "the (*bond*)*servant*"? Why does he reject the far more important words "to *give his soul a ransom* for many"? Why does he insert the apparently unimportant clauses about "*reclining* [*at meat*]"? An answer to these questions would be supplied (on the hypothesis of a Hebrew Original) by some Hebrew word or words capable of meaning, when modified by a little textual confusion and critical prepossession, either "*ransom*," or "*minister*," but liable to be confused with "bondservant"—so that it seemed to some to require, and actually received, an explanation in the margin subsequently incorporated in the text.

[**1277**] Now the word here used both by the Syriac and by the Palestinian Lectionary to render "*minister*" is in every case some form of שמש. This word does not occur in the Bible except once in an Aramaic passage of Daniel[1]. But it is extremely common in Aramaic and New Hebrew. The participle משמש is also very common. It is used for "servant" in the higher sense, and especially for a *pupil*, when regarded as "the *servant* of the Wise[2]." But it is also used for one ministering at table as distinguished from the guests, as in the sentence, "The *servant* bustles about while *they* sit[3]."

[**1278**] It happens also that the collocation of letters in Isaiah's phrase "make (lit. put (**1336**)) an *asham*," תשים אשם, lends itself to some confusion with a form of שמש, or שימש, "minister." Thus, many of the perplexing phenomena in

[1] Dan. vii. 10 "Thousand thousands *ministered* unto him (יישמישונה)," parallel to "stood before him."

[2] [**1277** *a*] Levy iv. 581 *b*, שמש is said to be contracted for שמשם: in the form שימש, it might easily be confused with שים or שום, "put," when followed by ש.

[3] [**1277** *b*] *Hor. Heb.* on Lk. xii. 37 quoting Gloss in *Bathra* fol. 57 *b* "He that serves at the table (שמש) goes about (הולך) while they (והן) sit (יושבין)."

the three Synoptic parallels under consideration could be explained from an original containing these letters of Isaiah's prophecy[1].

[**1279**] On this hypothesis, in the preceding discourse about "greatness" and "ministers," the original Hebrew mentioned "minister," under the term *shemesh* (i.e. *voluntary* "servant" as distinct from *enslaved* "servant"). Then—with such a play on the similarity of sound as is frequently found in Hebrew literature—it quoted the word *asham*, thus: "He that would be really great among you must be *shemesh* even as the Son of man came not to make others *shemesh* to himself but to make himself *shemesh* to others, and [indeed] to (Is. liii. 10) 'appoint his soul to be *asham*' for many." The peculiarity of the word *shemesh* at first escaped some Evangelists, who translated it "*bondservant*." Others more correctly translated it "*minister*." Mark conflated the two so as to make two parallel clauses ("great...*minister*; first... *bondservant*"). But he correctly retained the allusion to Isaiah, translating *asham* by "*ransom*." Luke rightly rejected the clause about "bondservant" as a conflation, but appears to have been wrong in confusing *asham* with *shemesh*, which last word he repeats thrice. Perhaps some gloss in the margin of Luke's Original explained that *shemesh* meant a waiter at the table contrasted with the guest ("the greater") who sat at the table: "Who is [*i.e.* what is the meaning of] 'the greater'? Is it not 'he that reclines [at table]'?" This gloss Luke may have inserted in the text, in the form "Who is the greater? Is not he that reclines [at table][2]?"

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[1] [**1278** *a*] The passive form "to be ministered unto" is, in Syriac, דנשתמש, in Palestinian Lect., דישתמש. The existence (in Isaiah) of אם before תשים might add to the confusion, if א was dropped, so as to give שם(א)מתישימ(א).

[2] If the words were a gloss, they would be liable to free handling and consequent variations, such as we find in D, *a*, *e*, and Corb. (**1275** *a*).

[1280] The alternative hypothesis is that Luke is right and Mark wrong; that there was no mention of an *asham* at all; that the Original contained nothing but *shemesh* "minister"; and that Luke, although wrong in introducing into his text explanatory glosses about the meaning of *shemesh* as being an attendant at table, was justified in rejecting all mention of "ransom[1]." Some may also urge that it was antecedently improbable that Jesus of Nazareth should apply—after this fashion unique in the Synoptists—a possibly Messianic and certainly intercessory phrase to His impending death.

[1281] In attempting to decide between these conflicting inferences from the same facts we are of course bound to attach weight to Luke's posteriority to Mark—so that he might be in a position to correct some of Mark's errors—as well as to the fairness, honesty, and painstaking efforts of the later Evangelist to be accurate; but on the other side it is extremely difficult to believe that an Evangelist like Mark, a writer of no literary merit and not distinguished among the Evangelists for spiritual perception, stumbled, so to speak, into so sublime and pathetic an utterance about the Son of man in the course of a mere conflation. Moreover the various renderings of Isaiah's prophecy about the *asham*, and the confusing nature of his text, are sufficient to explain Luke's having, on this occasion, been led astray. On the whole, the balance seems to incline in favour of Mark. But, before deciding, we have further evidence to weigh. In accordance with the generally observed rule[2]—that wherever Luke omits,

[1] [1280 *a*] Some might allege, in favour of this view, "They shall be their ransoms," λύτρα αὐτῶν ἔσονται, a LXX insertion in Numb. iii. 12 "and the Levites shall belong to me." But there the preceding words, "I have taken...*instead of* (תחת) (ἀντὶ) all the first-born," *imply* "*ransom*"; and the LXX apparently conflates ἀντὶ and λύτρα. Onk. and Jer. here insert "*ministering*," the word above discussed, thus: "and there shall be *ministering* (משמשין) before me the Levites" (Bib. lit. "and there shall be to me the Levites").

[2] See Preface, above, p. ix.

or deviates from, Mark, John steps in to explain or correct—the Fourth Gospel has something to say at this point; and what it says must be the subject of our next section.

§ 8. *John's evidence*

[1282] Reviewing the differences above-mentioned between Mark (with Matthew) and Luke, we find that Mark omits the clause "I am in the midst of you as he that ministereth" (though he has the statement that the Son "came to minister"), while Luke omits the clause about "ransom." In Mark, then, the Messiah is not mentioned as actually ministering. In Luke, there is no suggestion that the ministration is of the nature of a sacrifice, purification, or "ransom[1]." The time of the utterance is, according to Luke, the night of the Last Supper; according to Mark, it is earlier.

[1283] John represents Jesus as not saying, but *enacting*, the words "I am in the midst of you as he that ministereth," and this, on the night of the Last Supper. So far, he agrees with Luke. But he goes on to say that the ministration of Jesus was of a purifying nature, and purifying in such a special manner as to suggest a kind of sacrifice with which the Gentile world was very familiar: for, as Origen expresses it, Jesus is described as "taking into His own body, by means of the napkin with which alone He was girt, the filth that was on the feet of the disciples[2]." As a consequence of this, Jesus says to the disciples—at least to all that frankly accepted the purification, to all but Judas—"Ye are clean[3]." To some such tradition as this the First Epistle of Peter may

[1] [1282 *a*] *Asham* does not, of itself, mean "purifying," but implies it. In Prov. xiv. 9 (R.V.) "guilt," marg. "guilt-offering," LXX has καθαρισμόν, but Aq. and Theod. πλημμέλεια.

[2] *Comm. Johann.* (Huet, vol. ii. p. 384 c).

[3] Jn xiii. 10.

be alluding when the writer says to elder and younger alike "Yea, all of you clothe-yourselves-as-servants with humility to [serve] one another[1]."

[1284] The words of Origen, that Jesus "took into His own body the filth (or dirt, ῥύπος) from the feet of the disciples," should be compared with an earlier statement that "He made Himself, if one may venture to use such an expression, far more than any apostle, the *filth* of the world, the *offscouring* of all things[2]," as St Paul says of himself. For this word "offscouring" has a double meaning. On the one hand it means a sacrifice. But it was also habitually used in vernacular Greek to express—in one of those exaggerated forms of compliment familiar to us in modern epistolary subscriptions—"your obedient servant," "your most devoted humble servant" &c. This fact indicates how, quite apart from the use of the Hebrew word *asham*, a Greek tradition about the Lord Jesus, as making Himself a sacrificial offering for His disciples, might be misinterpreted by some so as to obscure or lose the notion of intercession. The earliest Greek

[1] [1283 *a*] Comp. Lk. xxii. 26 "the *elder* (μείζων)...as the *younger*." So here, the writer first appeals to (1 Pet. v. 1) "the *elder* (πρεσβυτέρους)," then to "the *younger*," and then to "all," thus (*ib.* 5): "Likewise, ye *younger*, be subject unto the *elder*; yea *all* of you *clothe-yourselves-as-servants* with humility to [serve] one another (ἀλλήλοις τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐγκομβώσασθε)." As regards the meaning of ἐγκομβόω, if the writer had meant merely "gird yourselves," would he not have used περιζώννυμι? The verb seems to mean (Steph. *Thes.*) "bind tightly," "knot"; but the noun is applied by Pollux to a slave's apron, perhaps *knotted* to the girdle. The writer of the Epistle may have had in mind the Hebraic metaphor of a "clothing" that, as it were, infects for good or ill; for ill, in Ps. cix. 18–9 "He clothed himself with cursing as with his garment (מדו), and it came into his inward parts like water and like oil into his bones; let it be unto him as the raiment wherewith he covereth himself and for the girdle wherewith he is girded continually." But it is more frequently used in a good sense.

[2] [1284 *a*] 1 Cor. iv. 13 "We are made as the filth (περικαθάρματα) of the world, the *offscouring* (περίψημα) of all things," quoted by Origen, *Comm. Johann.* (on Jn xi. 49 sq.) (Huet, vol. ii. p. 363 D).

oral traditions might use περικάθαρμα or περίψημα in the sense of a human sacrifice, a creature cast out as filth for the good of the state. Subsequent Gospels might soften the word down to λύτρον, "ransom." But others might take the word in the sense attached to it by Barnabas and Ignatius, namely, "your humble servant[1]." Into this error Luke may have fallen, and John may have corrected it.

[1285] Some, being prepossessed against what appears to them the Johannine non-historical idealism, may be disposed to reject or discredit John's testimony at this point: and they may urge that this notion of an intercessory or sacrificial efficacy in the Son of man was not a Jewish belief and could not spring up till after the Resurrection. This, however, would be an error. It is true that the intercessory efficacy of Isaiah's Sufferer is reduced in many passages of the Targum to something that differs little from the efficacy of instruction in the Law. But the Targum is a very late authority as compared with Philo. And Philo distinctly says—using the

[1] [1284 *b*] Comp. Barn. iv. 9 περίψημα ὑμῶν, "your humble servant," vi. 5 ἐγὼ περίψημα τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν, where, in both cases, the Latin omits the sentence, Ign. *Eph.* 8 περίψημα ὑμῶν, al. "gaudeo in vobis," *Eph.* 18 περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ, "my spirit is the devoted servant of the Cross." In the LXX, it occurs only in Tobit v. 18 περίψημα τοῦ παιδίου ἡμῶν γένοιτο, where the meaning seems to be "Would that it [the debt for the recovery of which our son is being sent on a dangerous journey] were thrown away to save our child's life." Writing about A.D. 250, Dionysius of Alexandria says that, in an epidemic, certain Christians (Euseb. vii. 22. 7) contracted the plague by their attendance on the plague-stricken, "*wiping up* (ἀναμασσόμενοι)" *the pains of others and* "*attracting the deadly disease into themselves*" *so as to fulfil in fact* "*the hackneyed expression* (τὸ δημῶδες ῥῆμα)" *that is commonly taken to be one of mere courtesy—*"*offscouring*" (i.e. *devoted servant*).

[1284 *c*] In his comment on Jn i. 29 ("the lamb of God") Origen again (Huet, vol. ii. p. 144 A) quotes 1 Cor. iv. 13 ("the filth of the world and the offscouring of all things") after mentioning the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter, and *similar sacrifices among the Gentiles who have offered themselves as victims for the public good.* It may be taken as certain, therefore, that he regarded the Pauline "filth" and "offscouring" as having a sacrificial meaning.

very word here employed by Mark—that "every wise man is a *ransom* for the bad[1]." The doctrine is also latent in the beautiful saying of Isaiah concerning the duty of "drawing out the soul" to one's neighbour[2], and most clearly expressed in his portrait of the Suffering Servant.

[1286] Rabbinical criticism—while acknowledging the intercessory power of the merit and prayer of a great Rabbi for the whole community—does not lay much stress on what we should call personal or spiritual influence, and there are in the Talmud comparatively few comments on such texts as that in which Isaiah inculcates the duty of "drawing out the soul" to one's neighbour. But even non-Christian historical critics may reasonably admit that there was in Jesus of Nazareth a spiritual insight deeper than that of the average Rabbi. And all the Gospels contain indications that He recognized in Himself a divinely given power of bearing the sins of others by sharing the burden of them. Very often this is obscured in the Synoptists by the subordination of spiritual to bodily pains, so that Jesus is represented as "sighing," or saying that "virtue has gone out" from Him, in connexion with the healing of diseases and physical pains, somewhat to the subordination of the sins of those whom He pitied. But still it is clearly to be traced in His inculcation of the Law of forgiveness and the Law of "losing" the soul in order to "find" it—perhaps more correctly to be called the Law of "killing" the soul in order to "make it live[3]."

[1] [1285*a*] Philo i. 187. Previously (i. 186) he says that the ransoming of the soul is a deliverance of the soul from the cruel despotism of the passions. In the context (i. 187–8), "good," or "worthy," appears to be used synonymously with "wise"; and these, he says, are as it were the physicians of the community in which they live. But what is the "ransom" paid? Philo does not answer this question definitely. But he suggests that, as the Levites are privileged to receive fugitives because they make themselves fugitives abandoning all things for God, so it must be with the wise man who is to ransom the foolish.

[2] [1285*b*] Is. lviii. 10, נפשך (there seems no sufficient reason for altering the text). [3] Lk. xvii. 33 ζωογονήσει, parall. to Mt. x. 39 εὑρήσει.

John, then, does not invent, but merely brings out into definite form an obscured historical fact, when he represents Jesus as not only taking into Himself, under a symbol, the sins and impurities of the disciples, but also enjoining on them the duty of performing the same service for others, "Ye ought also to wash one another's feet[1]."

[1287] When, however, we say that John "does not invent," we must not be supposed to commit ourselves to the belief that the details of the foot-washing are historical. If they are, then the Synoptists either did not know, or did not insert, a narrative that would have taken half the space of the story of the Gadarene and would have been—how much more edifying! If they are not, then John may have been misled by some version of Luke's tradition "I am in the midst of you," thrown into the third person, "*The Lord Jesus was in the midst of them as one that ministered at table*," combined with a version of Mark's and Matthew's tradition, "*He made Himself an offscouring*[2]."

[1288] The latter, at first sight, seems the more probable supposition. But the more Mark is studied, the more his Gospel suggests that it is (996) a narrative based on notes—conflated or elaborated in picturesque detail—of a few isolated, popular, and striking actions, or descriptions, that never aimed at completeness and never attained accuracy. Considering the length of the time that must have been spent by Jesus and His disciples in the "upper chamber" together on the night of the Last Supper, it is probable that He said to them more than a hundred times as much as Mark has set down. And, while teaching so much in words, He may

[1] Jn xiii. 14.

[2] [1287 *a*] In 1 Cor. iv. 13, *περίψημα* = (Delitzsch) סחי. Levy iii. 497 *a* does not say that סחי is ever used for (2 K. xviii. 27, Is. xxxvi. 12) (Q'ri) מימי רגליהם, lit. "waters of their feet" (where the Heb. term, if rendered literally, might cause misunderstanding): but in Lam. iii. 45, סחי = (Sym.) "dung," *κοπρία* (comp. also סוחה in Is. v. 25, *κοπρία*).

very well have taught more than once in symbols. As on another occasion He placed a little child in the midst of the disciples for an example of humility, so now He may have made Himself a servant waiting at table, to teach them a similar but deeper lesson. Whatever may have been the actual details—never perhaps now recoverable—evidence, both textual and antecedent, indicates that the Fourth Gospel, as regards the special subject of Christ's last words on "ransoming" and "ministering," goes closer to the mark than the Three, though it mentions neither "minister" nor "ransom" but only strives to give the spirit of the letter[1].

[1] [1288 *a*] The Johannine doctrine is that the foot-washing is far more than a mere self-humiliating ministration of the Lord to His disciples (as Luke suggests, "I am among you as one that ministereth"). It is indeed that; but it is more, as is shewn by the words (xv. 3) "Already are ye *pure* because of the Word that I have spoken to you," compared with the only previous uses of the word "*pure*" (xiii. 10, 11 "Now are ye *pure*, but not all [of you]" &c.)—all of them connected with the foot-washing—and with the contextual "*purify*" (xv. 2) "Every branch that beareth *fruit* he *purifieth* it."

[1288 *b*] John teaches that not only did Jesus, in the foot-washing, draw the impurities of the disciples, as Origen says, into His own person, but He also infused His own purity into all the disciples that would receive it, as the vine-branches receive the life-giving sap from the vine. As the Son lives (vi. 57) "*because of* the Father" (*i.e.* from Him and to Him), so the disciples are henceforth "*pure because of* the Word that has been spoken to them," *i.e.* because of the spiritual life that has passed into them from the Logos, or Life, as the vine-sap passes into the vine-branches from the law, or life, of the vine. From this Logos they derive, and to this Logos they devote, their lives. By this Logos they have been "purified," that is, they have been redeemed from selfishness into the unity and community of the Church. All this is a great deal more than the mere act of (Luke) "one that ministereth." It is, in the truest sense, "ransoming." As Philo says, it is "a ransoming from the despotism of the passions."

CHAPTER VI

THE PREDICTION PECULIAR TO MATTHEW

§ 1. *The context*

[1289] In the immediate context of the prediction of Paradosis peculiar to Matthew, both he and the other Synoptists make some mention of the Passover. In the preceding context they differ a good deal; but they all agree in their subject matter, which is Christ's doctrine on Watching for the Day of the Lord and for the Appointed Time of His Coming.

Mk xiii. 37—xiv. 1

"'But what I say unto you I say unto all, Watch.' *And* (δὲ) *there was the Passover and the Unleavened after two days.* And the chief priests and the scribes were seeking (or, began to seek) ...how...they might kill him."

Mt. xxvi. 1—2

"And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended all these words, he said to his disciples 'Ye know that *after two days the Passover cometh and the Son of man is* [*to be*] *delivered up to be crucified.*' Then there [?had] gathered together the chief priests and the elders of the people ...in order that... they might kill him."

Lk. xxi. 37—xxii. 1

"Now he was [during] the days teaching in the temple.....and all the people were wont to come early in the morning to him in the temple to hear him. *And* (δὲ) *there was drawing nigh the feast of the Unleavened which is called Passover.* And the chief priests and the scribes were seeking (or, began to seek) how they might make away with him."

[**1290**] It will be observed that, in Mark, the statement about the Passover would have to be taken as a part of Christ's discourse (as Matthew takes it) *if* "*and there will be*" *were substituted for* "*and there was.*" Now these two phrases are often confused in Hebrew, because Hebrew uses "*and there was*" (והיה) to mean "*and there will be*," and "*and there will be*" (ויהי) to mean "*and there was.*" This peculiar idiom does not extend to Aramaic, in which "*and there was*" (והוה) retains its literal meaning[1].

[**1291**] Moreover the *vaw* (presupposed in a Hebrew והיה "and there was" meaning "and there will be") might mean "*for.*" Consequently, on the hypothesis of a Hebrew Original, there is no difficulty (except want of adequate sense) in supposing that Matthew is right in attributing to our Lord some mention of "two days"—Mark having converted a portion of Christ's utterance into a statement of fact[2]—so that, if we could find the Hebrew, it would reveal some precept like "*Watch, for it will be the Passover after two days.*" But, although this hypothesis is supported by Matthew, and although we are familiar with sayings of our Lord that *imply* an interval of "two days," it is not easy to see how such a saying could be other than superfluous in connexion with the Passover. Apart from some explanation, the words seem to make no more sense than similar words in English, referring, suppose, to Christmas, and uttered on the 22nd or 23rd of December: "Watch, for you know that it will be Christmas after two days."

[**1292**] But if "the Passover" was in the Original, why do the Synoptists so vary in mentioning it? When Luke first mentions it—near the beginning of his Gospel where he might be supposed to be careful, even to diffuseness, in explaining Jewish terms for Gentile readers—he is content

[1] Dalman, *Words*, p. 83.

[2] Compare, for a converse instance, **1252–4**.

to call it simply "the feast of the Passover[1]." Here, towards the end of his Gospel, he calls it "the feast of the Unleavened which is called Passover"; Mark, "the Passover and the Unleavened"; Matthew, simply "the Passover," but with an addition about the "crucifying" of the Son of man. Do not the variations suggest that the Original may have contained some more general term that might mean any appointed feast, as we should speak of "*the* holidays," or "*the* vacation," meaning Christmas, Easter &c., as the case may be? Such a term, since the Passover was actually close at hand, may have been interpreted by some as "the *Passover*," by others as "the *Unleavened*." If so, Mark conflates the two interpretations. Matthew adopts "the *Passover*" alone. Luke retains the original word, which he renders "*feast*"; but he defines it as "*called*" the "*Passover*" and as a part of the longer festival of "the *Unleavened*."

[**1293**] Now it happens that there is a very common Hebrew word, Môad, applicable to the Synoptic variations here. It is derived from a root that means "*appoint*," so that it means, in the first place, "appointed time" of meeting. Hence it is applied to any appointed feast-time, and may mean "*feast*": but it may also mean simply appointed time in the sense of "*season*," being interpreted about thirty times by the LXX in each of these two senses[2]. As the Môad (Appointed Time) of the Lord's Coming is implied in the whole of the previous discourse in all the Synoptists, it would be natural that the very last words of the discourse should

[1] Lk. ii. 41.

[2] [**1293** *a*] Trommius gives מועד as=(30) *καιρός*, "appointed time," (31) *ἑορτή*, "feast." The preceding discourse is in answer to the question (Mk xiii. 4) "When shall these things be?" *i.e.* the consummation of all things. A little afterwards, the parallel Luke (xxi. 8) contains the words uttered by false prophets, "The *appointed time* is near." Later on, Mk xiii. 33 says "Watch, for ye know not when is *the appointed time*" (Mt. xxv. 13 "Watch, therefore, because ye know not *the day nor the hour*").

include a precept to wait for the Môad, so that if we had Mark's Original before us, in its Hebrew form, the words of Jesus would have been as follows :—"'And what I say unto you I say unto all, *Watch. After two days cometh the Appointed Time.*'" Then the narrative would have continued, "Now the chief priests and the scribes were seeking...." According to this view, the words of the Lord would have been like those of Habakkuk (ii. 3) "The vision is yet for the Môad (*Appointed Time*), and it hasteth toward the end and shall not lie. Though it tarry, wait for it, because it will surely come. It will not delay."

[**1294**] "*After two days*," as will be seen hereafter (**1306**), might mean in Jewish idiom "after a short time," and is expressly said by the great Jewish Grammarian, Ibn Ezra, to have that meaning in the prediction of Hosea "*After two days* he will revive us...and we shall live in his sight." To the Jewish Apostles, therefore, and to their immediate disciples, this precept, uttered a few days before our Lord's Resurrection, "Watch, after two days is the Appointed Time," may have seemed perfectly intelligible. Amply—even though not yet completely—must the Master have seemed to have fulfilled His promise about the Appointed Time to those who had been His companions in Gethsemane, and had known what it was to receive tidings of His death and burial from the women on the following night, and then, after going down to the depths of Sheol, to rise, as it were, again from the dead when their Master was manifested to them "after two days" so that they were once more "revived" and "lived in His sight." In a most real sense the manifestation of the risen Saviour was, for the first Apostles, a Deliverance, or Môad, greater than the Exodus or ancient Passover, greater than the Return from the Captivity, and indeed so great that those who realised this Advent from the dead as permanent might feel in no haste at all for any second Advent, because the promise of Jesus had been already fulfilled, "My Father will

love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him[1]."

[1295] But when thirty or forty years had passed away after Christ's death, and a generation of Christians had arisen including few or none that had any personal knowledge of Christ in the flesh, the case would be greatly altered. St Paul, it is true, appears to estimate lightly, not only knowledge of the Saviour "*after* the flesh," but even knowledge of Him "*in* the flesh"—as compared with that spiritual communion which was vouchsafed to him, not only through voices and visions, but also through an indwelling and perpetual presence. But we can hardly doubt that, in the generation succeeding St Paul, as voices and visions and Apostles died out, there would arise a craving for a new personal presence to supply their place. Thus, by degrees, for the average Christian, the old Môad, the Resurrection of Christ, would begin to seem no longer, in the full Pauline sense, "life from the dead" for the soul that believed it. The Advent from the dead was still glorious, but in great measure because it was the harbinger of a second more glorious Advent from the clouds of Heaven.

[1296] Thus it would come to pass, after the gradual decease of the first Apostles, that many Christians, reading at the end of our Lord's discourse on the Last Days the words, "After two days cometh the *Appointed Time*," would be increasingly perplexed by any interpretation that referred the term to Christ's Resurrection. "That," they would say, "was *four* days distant, not *two*. But the Passover was *two* days off. Perhaps the Passover was meant. And perhaps the words were a statement of fact by the Evangelists, not a prediction by our Lord." Thus there would be a strong inducement to render Môad by "Passover," especially as the word is applied with particular frequency to that feast (perhaps

[1] Jn xiv. 23.

as being "appointed" in a special way to commemorate a great deliverance)[1]. As a fact, too, the Passover was at hand. Perhaps it was not so near as "two days": but this might well seem a minor difficulty, for "two days" might be taken loosely to mean "two or three days." On the whole, if Jesus really said "After two days cometh the Môad" we could hardly be surprised that this was converted into a statement of some kind about the Passover[2].

§ 2. "*After two days*"

[1297] The expression "after two days" occurs in a well-known prophecy of Hosea (vi. 2) (lit.) "He will revive us *after two-days* (dual, מימים) on day the third he will raise us up and we shall live in his sight." It has been shewn elsewhere (**226**) that since ימים, according to its pointing, may mean either "*two days*" or "*days*," it would be easy to render this prophecy "after *days* on day the third," and then to take this as meaning "after *three days*," and that this may explain the variation in :—

Mk viii. 31	Mt. xvi. 21	Lk. ix. 22
"...and *after three days* rise again."	"...and *on the third day* be raised up."	"...and *on the third day* be raised up."

[1298] So here, the hypothesis of the same Hebrew expression, capable of meaning "*after* [*some*] *days*," or "*after*

[1] [1296 *a*] Ex. xxiii. 14–6, mentioning the three great feasts, applies the word *Môad* to the Unleavened alone; comp. Ex. xiii. 10, xxxiv. 18, Numb. ix. 2, 3, 7, Deut. xvi. 6.

[2] [1296 *b*] In the process of conversion we should expect conflations to arise owing to the confusion (**7**), frequent in LXX, between forms of ידע "*know*" and יעד "appoint (a meeting)": and this might account for Matthew's peculiar insertion of "ye *know*," and (Mt. xxvi. 3) "*met* together (*συνήχθησαν*)." In Ex. xxix. 42, xxx. 6, Numb. xvii. 4, Amos iii. 3, forms of יעד are confused with forms of ידע.

two days," would explain why Luke, instead of "*after two days*," has "*was drawing near.*" Indeed, if we take "*two days*" literally, and if we bear in mind that the statement is made before the Anointing which took place during the Supper at Bethany, it is difficult to reconcile Mark and Matthew with John (xii. 1): "Jesus, therefore, *six days before the Passover*, came to Bethany...they therefore made a supper for him there." No doubt, John's general arrangement of events differs from that of the Synoptists at this point. But still Luke's phrase "the Passover *drew near*," and John's "*six days before* the Passover," both coming at the point where Mark and Matthew have "*after two days* the Passover," combine to produce an impression that the later Evangelists regarded the early tradition about "two days," if taken literally and in connexion with the Passover—in either of the forms in which it is given by Mark and Matthew—as an error.

§ 3. *The mention of Paradosis, probably an error*

[1299] But even if Matthew is right in attributing to Jesus here some prediction about "two days" it by no means follows that he is right in attributing to Him also the prediction about "being delivered up to be crucified." The two clauses are not on the same level in respect of textual evidence. The first clause is in all the Synoptists (though only in one of them as an utterance of Jesus): the second is in none but Matthew.

Moreover it is easy to see how the rendering of Môad as "Passover" would almost necessitate—not in the other Evangelists who spoke of the Passover in their own person, giving information to their readers, but in Matthew who represented Jesus as addressing the disciples—some clause explaining Christ's solemn statement that the disciples "knew" a fact known to everybody, namely, *that the Passover would be coming in two days.*

[1300] "Of course they 'knew,' then why tell them?"—such might be the comment of a perplexed catechumen. For his benefit an Evangelist might naturally think it needful to add something to the effect that it was not merely the Passover of the Jews that was in the Lord's mind; He *meant* also that sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb for the whole world which was included in the delivering up of Jesus to be crucified for our sins. This might be expressed in a brief marginal note repeating the language of Jesus in previous predictions: "He meant '*The Son of man is to be delivered up to be crucified.*'" Then, owing to a peculiarity of Hebrew, which sometimes expresses "He *meant*" by "He *said*[1]," it might be believed that Jesus actually *said* these words on the present occasion, and they would be added to Matthew's text.

§ 4. *If Christ said "After two days," to what did it refer?*

[1301] Abraham, on the point of sacrificing Isaac, after journeying towards the mountain, "on the third day lifted up his eyes and saw the place afar off." Bereshith Rabba, commenting on this, says, "It is said (Hos. vi. 2), He will revive us after two days on the third day he will raise us up that we may live before him": and the same treatise proceeds to refer to the release of Joseph's brethren from prison ("And Joseph said unto them *the third day*, This do and live"); to the preservation of the spies by Rahab ("Hide yourselves there *three days*...and afterwards go your way"); to the waiting of Israel for the Law from Sinai ("And it came to pass on *the third day*"); to the three days and three nights of Jonah in the belly of the whale; to the three days of Ezra's encampment on the way to Jerusalem to rebuild the temple; to "the third day of the resurrection of the dead"

[1] [1300 *a*] Comp. Gesen. 56 *a*, which shews that Hebrew uses "he *said*" to mean "he *said in his heart*," i.e. he *meant*, *purposed*, or *intended* (**744** *a*).

mentioned by Hosea; and to the three days of Esther's fasting after which she ventured to stand before the king in the hope of saving Israel[1].

[**1302**] Thus the expressions "*after three days*," "*on the third day*" (or, in Hosea, "*after two days on the third day*") appear to have been associated in the minds of Jews with the thought of deliverance consummated, or perfected, after a period of trial. An earlier Jewish writer than the author above quoted, commenting on the same narrative about Abraham's three days' journey to mount Moriah, connects it with the notion of being "perfected," saying that "the mind, being *perfected*, will pay the [perfect] debt to the perfecting God." But when? "When it shall arrive *on the third day* at the place which God mentioned to it[2]," for then, says the writer, "it will offer up the beloved Son, not a human being—for the Wise is not a child-murderer—but the male offspring of the virtue-craving soul." With these remarks of Philo, characteristically expressing Hebrew thought in Alexandrine idiom, we may compare the tradition peculiar to Luke, "Behold I cast out devils and perform cures to-day and to-morrow, and *the third* [*day*] *I am* [*to be*] *perfected*[3].

[1] [**1301** *a*] Gen. xxii. 4, Hos. vi. 2, Gen. xlii. 18, Josh. ii. 16, Ex. xix. 16, Jonah ii. 1 (R.V. i. 17), Ezr. viii. 15, Hos. vi. 2, Esth. v. 1. The writer refers twice to Hosea.

In Ex. xix. 11, 15, 16, "the third day" is repeated twice by the Lord to Moses, once by Moses to the people, and once by the historian ("and it came to pass on *the third day* when it was morning"). The writer ignores 1 K. xii. 5, 12, where there was indeed a great consummation, but a negative one—the severance of Israel from Judah.

[2] Philo i. 457 Τελειωθεὶς ὁ νοῦς ἀποδώσει τὸ τέλος τῷ τελεσφόρῳ θεῷ... Πότε οὖν ἀποδίδωσιν; Ὅταν "ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ὃν εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ παραγένηται"... Τότε γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἀγαπητὸν υἱὸν ἱερουργήσει, οὐχὶ ἄνθρωπον—οὐ γὰρ τεκνοκτόνος ὁ σοφὸς—ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρετώσης ψυχῆς γέννημα ἄῤῥεν....

[3] [**1302** *a*] Lk. xiii. 32 τελειοῦμαι: Delitzsch אשלם from שלם: Syriac (Burkitt) "my cure I finish...and the third day *I am* [*myself*] *finished*," using the same verb, שלם. In the Syriac Gospels, שלם is the regular equivalent of παραδίδωμι, "deliver up."

Howbeit I must go on my way to-day and to-morrow and the [day] following: for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem." Here, Luke's Greek assigns to our Lord the very same word that Philo employs to express the "*perfecting*" of deliverance on "the third day" for all imitators of Abraham.

[**1303**] These facts indicate that, if our Lord used the expression "after two days" metaphorically in accordance with the usage of Hebrew prophets and writers, as recognized by Jewish teachers, He was contemplating some impending deliverance, not some impending trial. It may be said indeed that, in the case of Abraham, the "three days" preceded the trial, not the deliverance. But the answer to that objection is implied in Rashi's comment on the passage in Genesis: the trial consisted in the three days' journey during which the patriarch had time to change his mind and to refuse to sacrifice his son: at the end of the three days, says Rashi, he saw a sign, a cloud hanging over the mountain; and it is implied that the struggle was virtually over and the deliverance assured. Similarly our Lord might have spoken of Himself as destined to be "perfected" after three days, but hardly as destined to be "crucified[1]."

[**1304**] The same conclusion is suggested by the word Môad which—besides being connected with the Passover and with Habakkuk's prophecy (**1293**)—has many associations with the thought of deliverance. These have been touched on above; but they must be emphasized here if we are to do justice to the hypothesis of the mention of the Môad by Jesus at this crisis. On the one hand, the term is connected not only with the commemoration of the Exodus, the greatest of

[1] This conclusion might also be arrived at on other grounds, namely, the extreme improbability that our Lord would predict this peculiar kind of punishment. But that point has been discussed elsewhere (**928** (i)—(x)).

all Israel's deliverances[1], but also with the very beginning of its history, the birth of the nation in Isaac, fulfilling the promise to Abraham, "At the *Appointed Time* will I return unto thee[2]." On the other hand it is applied to the final consummation of all history in the prophecy of Daniel, "The end shall be at the *Appointed Time*[3]." But the extent to which this thought of "appointment" pervades Hebrew worship and Hebrew literature is concealed in the LXX by a serious and frequently repeated error by which the name "Tabernacle of Testimony" has been given to what should have been described as the *Tabernacle of Appointment* (*for Meeting*) where Jehovah "*appointed*" to meet His people[4].

[**1305**] The Môad, or (**1293**) Appointed Time for Meeting, might be a time "*appointed*" for a Master to meet and take account from his servants when he returns home, or a time "*appointed*" by a Judge for legal trial when the judge and judged are to stand face to face. The word was also applied in New Hebrew to a man "*appointing*," or betrothing, a bride for himself or his son. In these different senses the word Môad lent itself to various illustrations which Matthew groups together in this part of his Gospel. The thought of the Môad is latent in all the Parables of Waiting and Watching as well as in the Discourse on the Last Days.

[**1306**] As regards the meaning of the "two days" and "third day" in Hosea, Jewish criticism is divided. Rashi refers it to the destructions of the two temples and the future rebuilding of a third; others to the two captivities; others to the interval between death and decomposition[5]. But Ibn Ezra, one of the most trustworthy critics on verbal points,

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[1] Ex. xiii. 10. [2] Gen. xviii. 14.

[3] Dan. xi. 27. Comp. Dan. viii. 19, xi. 35, also Jerem. xlvi. 17 "he hath let pass by the *appointed time* [*for deliverance*]," Ps. cii. 13 "For [it is] the time (עת) to pity her, for there hath come the *appointed time*."

[4] Ex. xxxiii. 7, Numb. xii. 4 &c.

[5] See *Hor. Heb.* on Jn xi. 39.

says, "*He will make us to live* means *He will heal us*: *In two days* means *In a short time*[1]." This suggests a parallelism with a saying of our Lord recorded by John alone, "*A little while* and ye shall see me."

[1307] This Johannine Logion, which is said to have perplexed the disciples at the time, deserves our most careful study. It occurs after the words "I go unto the Father and ye behold me no more," which we naturally refer to the Ascension. Then, at a short interval, Jesus says, "*A little* while, and ye BEHOLD me no more, and *again* a little while and ye shall SEE me." "*Again*" does not mean "a second time," or "after an interval of time." It has nothing to do with time. It means "on the other hand," or "to look at the other side of the question[2]." The Evangelist's meaning appears to be this, that after "a little while" the Lord will *on the one hand* be removed from the *bodily gaze* ("*behold*") of the disciples, but will *on the other hand* ("*again*") be manifested to their *spiritual vision* ("*see*")[3]. This appears to contemplate the Death, the Resurrection and the Ascension as being so close together that they appear one event in different aspects. The "little while" of trial and trouble for the disciples (the "two days" of Hosea) has begun already ("and ye *now* therefore have sorrow[4]"), but in "a little while" will come the joy when the "man is born into the world[5]."

[1] For this information as to Rashi and Ibn Ezra I am indebted to Professor Hermann Gollancz. Wetstein (on Lk. xiii. 32) quotes *Midrasch Thillim* xii. 2 "Hodie et cras debeo arare, sed exspectate me donec aravero, et tertio die ibimus una" (apparently taking it to mean "two or three days"), as also Epictet. iv. 10. 31 "When could one be blind to the truth that this person, or that, must die to-morrow or the third day?"

[2] See Westc. on Jn xvi. 28 "*again*": "This revelation is complementary to the other. Comp. 1 John ii. 8." His note on 1 Jn ii. 8 ("*Again* I write unto you a new commandment") is, "The Apostle has given one side of the truth: he now turns to the other... Comp. John xvi. 28; 1 Cor. xii. 21; 2 Cor. x. 7; xi. 16."

[3] Jn xvi. 16 "*Behold*" refers to (Westc.) "the outward manifestation of the Lord." [4] Jn xvi. 22. [5] Jn xvi. 21.

[1308] Somewhat similarly we have found Luke above (1302) representing Jesus as saying "On the third day I am [to be] *perfected*," where the verb (τελειοῦμαι) is one that is regularly applied to martyrdom by Christian writers[1]. The two passages, taken together, certainly suggest that our Lord may have sometimes spoken of His Death and Resurrection (or Ascension) as one event, destined to occur at one Appointed Time, and constituting a Deliverance for His disciples like that mentioned in Hosea.

[1309] It must not be forgotten that the only saying in the Fourth Gospel about the Resurrection and "three days" is alleged to have been uttered by Jesus about the raising up of "the Temple." And "Temple" is there expressly explained as referring *to the Temple of His Body, which, according to the method of Christian speech in the first century, would best mean the New Temple, that is, the Church of Christ*[2]. True, this saying is differently reported by "false witnesses" in Mark and Matthew[3], and it is wholly omitted by Luke; but that is only what we should expect in accordance with the general rule that, where Luke omits some obscure statement in Mark, John intervenes to clear the matter up[4].

[1310] According to this view, our Lord's words about the "third day" or "three days" may have been more similar than is generally supposed to those of Hosea: "on

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[1] [1308 *a*] Comp. Clem. Alex. 570 τελείωσιν τὸ μαρτύριον καλοῦμεν, and Euseb. iii. 35 τοῦ Συμεῶνος τὸν δηλωθέντα τελειωθέντος τρόπον.

[2] [1309 *a*] Luke may have omitted this because he did not feel sure of its exact wording, circumstances, and interpretation. But the combined evidence of the three other Evangelists is strongly in its favour. There is a curious mention of a building of the Temple in the Targum on Is. liii. 5 "He will build up the Holy Place which has been polluted because of our sins."

[3] [1309 *b*] Mk xiv. 58, Mt. xxvi. 60—61 speak, in different ways, of "false witnesses" and give the testimony as (Mk) "*I will* destroy," (Mt.) "*I am able to* destroy," whereas Jn ii. 19 has "Destroy *ye*."

[4] See Preface, p. ix.

the third day *he* [*i.e.* God] *will raise us up*." And on this supposition—the words not being used of literal days—it is more easy to believe that Jesus ended His discourse on the Last Days with some expression of this kind, not thinking so much of Himself as of His disciples, or rather thinking of His disciples as included in Himself. According to Mark, the very first utterance of Jesus in preaching the Gospel was, "*The Appointed Time* is fulfilled[1]." So, at the very end of His discourse on the Last Days, it would be appropriate that we should find in Mark's Original some saying to the effect that the same period was now close at hand, "Watch, *after two days is the Appointed Time*."

[1] Mk i. 15.

CHAPTER VII

THE PREDICTION AT THE LORD'S SUPPER

§ 1. *The two mentions of Paradosis in the Gospels*

[1311] In the Synoptic account of the Lord's Supper there are two predictions, or mentions, of Paradosis; and it must be at once admitted that the first of these ("One of you will *deliver me up*") refers to the treachery of Judas and to nothing else. But it is omitted by Luke. John, intervening as usual in such cases[1], inserts it, and—which is not usual—his version is in verbatim agreement with that of Mark and Matthew. But how could Luke have omitted an utterance so important, so apposite to the circumstances, so direct, and so unmistakeable, if he knew of it and believed it to be historical? The omission indicates that Luke had either not found it in the many documents that he had consulted, or had reasons for thinking that it was not historical.

[1312] The second mention is found in all the Synoptists, and nearly in the same words: "Woe unto that man through whom the Son of man (Lk. he) *is* [*to be*] *delivered up*" (not in John). "Man" is here mentioned, but not without reference to God, not so as to exclude the hypothesis that Jesus is contemplating the "*delivering up*" as primarily a divine act, though wrought through human agency. Indeed the three

[1] See Preface, p. ix.

Evangelists expressly add this, as an integral part of the sentence pronouncing woe:

Mk xiv. 21 and Mt. xxvi. 24	Lk. xxii. 22
"On the one hand the Son of man goeth back *even as it is written concerning him*; but on the other hand, woe...!"	"The Son of man on the one hand goeth *according to the ordained* [*purpose of God*]; yet, woe...!"

[**1313**] In Luke, the expression of the divine will is somewhat stronger than in Mark and Matthew ("ordained," or "decreed," ὡρισμένον, being more personal and more directly referring to God than "as it is written"). Perhaps, too, Luke's continuation of the sentence ("yet," πλήν, instead of "but on the other hand," δέ), introducing what follows as a sad contrariety, throws rather more emphasis on what precedes, as being the main thought: "The departure, or delivering up, of the Son of man is not an accident, nor is it a mere sin: it is the fore-ordained purpose of the Father, who works good through evil:—yet woe unto the evil!"

[**1314**] In Mark, D and some important Latin MSS (a, c, i), instead of "goeth back," have "*is to be delivered up*." If the latter was the original, it might be corrupted by editors or scribes reasoning as follows: "Our Lord has just (Mk xiv. 19) applied '*deliver up*' ('One of you will *deliver* me *up*') to the act of Judas. Now He seems to be speaking of the act of God (though accomplished through the instrumental treachery of man). It is hardly seemly that the same word should be applied to the latter as to the former. Perhaps we ought to read מוסר, '*caused to go back*,' instead of this form of מסר, '*deliver up*,' as it is written concerning the Messiah in Hosea ('I will go and *return to my place*')[1]." More probably D and

[1] [**1314** *a*] Hos. v. 15, which, however, does not use a form of סור. But comp. Is. xvii. 1 מוסר, lit. "caused to go back," identical with מסר, "deliver up," but for a *vaw*. The active causative participle is מסיר.

[**1314** *b*] There may have been early differences of opinion as to whether (Mk xiv. 21) "it is written" referred to the Paradosis expressly

the Latin MSS are wrong. Probably the Original did not here contain מסר, "deliver up"; and the scribes altered "goeth" into "is delivered up" in order to harmonize it, as they conceived, with what precedes:—"One of you will *deliver me up*—this '*delivering*' is according to Scripture; but woe to the human instrument!" But the various reading is of importance as shewing how, in early times, the "delivering up" might be variously regarded as a human or divine act, and how the words of a Messiah whose eyes were fixed on the fore-ordained act of God might be interpreted by the minds of less inspired successors of the Apostles as the words of a Seer predicting the treachery of a follower.

We shall now attempt to shew that the earlier part of the Eucharistic narrative implies—and perhaps originally contained—a reference to the *divine* "delivering up," and that the words "goeth back even as it is written" refer to this fore-ordained purpose of God.

§ 2. 1 Cor. xi. 24 "*This is my body which is* [*being delivered up*] *for you*"

[1315] St Paul introduces his account of Christ's words in the institution of the Eucharist with the same technical terms with which the commencement of the famous Talmudic treatise entitled, *The Sayings of the Fathers* (called, for brevity, *Aboth*), introduces the giving of the Old Covenant of the Law: "Moses received the Law from Sinai and *delivered it up* to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets *delivered it up* to the men of the Great Synagogue." If the giving of the body and blood of Christ appeared to the Apostle to constitute the New Covenant of Grace, we might expect a

mentioned in *The Suffering Servant*, or that which some might infer from the Psalmist's (xli. 9) utterance concerning the "familiar friend." John (xiii. 18) gives prominence to the latter.

similar formula in connexion with the Eucharist; and, as a fact, Delitzsch's Hebrew translation of the Pauline version of the form of Institution uses precisely the same Hebrew words for "*receive*" and "*deliver up*" as those used in the *Aboth*, "For I *received* from the Lord that which I also *delivered up* to you, that the Lord Jesus, on the night on which *he was* [*to be*] *delivered up*, took bread, and, having given thanks, he brake [it] and said, 'This is my body which [is ? being delivered up] for you.'"

[**1316**] The expression "*deliver up my body*" is used by the Apostle a little later on[1], to mean "make myself a martyr, or hostage"; and it is similarly used by classical Greek writers to mean "surrender one's *person*" (**1326**). Moreover St Paul (**1154–6**) uses the phrase "*delivered him(self) up* for you, us" &c. concerning the intercessory sacrifice of Jesus in other Epistles, and never uses it concerning the treachery of Judas. This appears to be one (but not the only) reason why he, somewhat unusually, omits the verb where we should have expected it ("my body that is *being delivered up*, or, that *I am delivering up*, for you"), namely, that *he assumes that his Corinthian readers will understand and supply the verb from the preceding context, so that he is spared the necessity of repeating it.*

[**1317**] Various authorities have supplied the verb in different forms, e.g. "*given*," "*broken*," "*broken in pieces*": but their variations indicate that these are merely corrupt additions, attempts to soften the abruptness of St Paul's Greek, and that the Apostle himself left the verb unsupplied.

[1] [**1316** *a*] 1 Cor. xiii. 3 (where see W.H.'s note) R.V. txt. "If I give my body to be burned," marg. "that I may glory." The meaning is paraphrased by Clem. Alex., with ἐπιδίδωμι for παραδίδωμι, (W.H.) "evidently following a text in which παραδῶ was absolute, but substituting ἐπιδῶ which in this sense is a commoner word." Ἐπιδίδωμι frequently means "make a free gift for the public good." St Paul's meaning appears to be "Though I lay down my life for others, simply to gain fame." See **1326** *a*.

His language suggests that he has in mind a threefold "delivering up":—(1) the "delivering up" of the Son by the Father, consummated on the night before the Crucifixion, to be a sacrifice for the sins of men; (2) the Son's "delivering up" of His "body" in the Eucharist in their behalf; (3) the "delivering up" (or, as we should say in English, "handing down") of the Eucharistic tradition from the Lord to His immediate disciples and from them to those more remote.

[1318] But, although there can be little doubt that the Apostle mentally supplied the words "delivered up" after "This is my body," it does not follow that he regarded the former as having been uttered by Jesus. On the contrary, the difficulty caused by their omission, and the extreme brevity and abruptness of the text, suggest that he is reproducing the exact words of some ancient tradition—this being the only instance in which he quotes a somewhat long saying of the Lord[1]. Hence it may be inferred that there was in the Original no actual mention of "delivering up" (though the context distinctly implied it), and that intercession was expressed, *not by a verb*, but *by some phrase rendered in the Epistle "for you* (ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν)." And here, if anywhere in N.T., we might expect to find traces of the very words uttered by our Lord in their original Aramaic idiom. Our next step must be to ascertain whether this view is confirmed by the Synoptic Tradition.

§ 3. Lk. xxii. 19 "*This is my body* [[*which is being given for you*]]"

[1319] Luke's Gospel at this point contains, in many MSS and versions, an insertion including almost the whole of the Pauline tradition and closely agreeing with the text of the Epistle. It is uncertain whether it is an addition made by

[1] The two or three other instances of Pauline quotation of words of the Lord are very brief.

Luke himself in a second edition of his Gospel, or a very early interpolation. But, in any case, it is so strongly supported as to deserve to be discussed along with the three earlier versions of Mark, Matthew, and the shorter Luke:

Mk xiv. 22	Mt. xxvi. 26	Lk. xxii. 19	[[Lk. xxii. 19]]
"Take, this is my body."	"Take, eat, this is my body."	"This is my body."	"This is my body [[which is being given for you[1]]]."

[**1320**] No hypothesis that does not give great weight to the Pauline evidence, in favour of the clause "*for you*," can satisfy all the textual phenomena; and yet it seems at first sight impossible that such a clause, if part of the Original, should have been omitted by the Synoptists. But if we bear in mind how the intercessory clause in *The Suffering Servant* ("make intercession *for* transgressors") was expressed by a Hebrew preposition that might mean "*to*" or "*for*," we shall be prepared to understand how, in the present instance, some might render "*for* you" as meaning "(given) *to* you" and might paraphrase the latter by some words expressing the act of giving.

[**1321**] Take for example the passage where Joseph says to the Egyptians "Behold, [here is] seed *for you*[2]." This passage in Genesis has a special importance for us, because *the word for "Behold" is not Hebrew but Aramaic,* הָא[3]. Here the Targums follow the Biblical text, and Etheridge renders them "Behold [*I give*] you seed"; but the LXX has "*Take* (λάβετε) for yourselves seed." "Behold (הָא)" is used again with the second personal pronoun in the

[1] Alford gives no variant for "being given," but the Syriac has (Burk.) "which [is] for you," SS. "which *I give* for you" (Walton "quod pro vobis tradetur"), Syr. יהב, "give."

[2] Gen. xlvii. 23.

[3] This Aramaic form occurs nowhere else in the Hebrew books of the Bible except Ezek. xvi. 43, LXX ἰδού. For its use in Daniel, see **1321** *c*.

Targum on another passage of Genesis, in giving a present[1], so that it might naturally be paraphrased as "*take*," the meaning being "Here is something for you, *take* it." But, since such a sentence might be also more briefly expressed as "*This* is for you," and since הא is identical with the Aramaic הא, "*this*," we might expect the interjectional "*Behold*" to be sometimes translated from an Aramaic Gospel or tradition by the demonstrative pronoun, as it is once, in Daniel, by the accurate Theodotion[2].

[**1322**] So far, then, the evidence points to a hypothesis that our Lord, in giving the bread, used the Aramaic phrase, "Behold for you," meaning, "See, I give you," which would be capable of being paraphrased as "*This...for you.*" This is St Paul's tradition, supposing him to have rendered the dative "for (-ל)" by *ὑπέρ*, as the LXX does in two out of the first eight instances in which *ὑπέρ* occurs (Judg. vi. 31, 1 S. ii. 25: compare Job xiii. 7 (Sym.)).

[**1323**] Another version of this tradition, accepting הא as "*this*," but interpreting "for you" as a mere dative of the recipient meaning "(*given*) *to* you," might omit the pronoun as being expressed in the preceding phrase of the narrative "gave it to them." This is the version adopted in the shorter Luke, which has simply "This is my body."

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[1] [**1321** *a*] Gen. xx. 16 (Heb.) "Behold (הנה) [let] this [be] to thee a veil," and so Onk. (merely using הא for הנה, "behold"), but Jer. II. has "behold, that silver *is given* to thee for a present." This, and Etheridge's insertion (**1321**) of "give" in the Targum on Gen. xlvii. 23, are parallel to the insertion of "*give*" in the longer Luke. On הא, see also **1358** *a—c*.

[**1321** *b*] In Gen. xlvii. 23, the German of Dessauer's edition of Rashi gives "*da habt ihr*" for הא לכם. Rashi calls attention to the equivalence of הא and הנה. Comp. Dalman (*Gram. Aram.* p. 192) "*Schek.* 49 *b* '*da hast du*,' הא לך, *Pea* 21 *b* היולך."

[2] [**1321** *c*] Dan. iii. 25, Aram. הא, LXX "*behold*," Theod. *ὅδε*. Such a confusion might be facilitated by the similarity of Aram. הא "*behold*," to the Biblical הוא, "*that*," translated *οὗτος* in Ex. xvi. 15, conflated as לא "not" and "this" (*οὐ τοῦτο*) in Ex. xvi. 23, *τοῦτο* in Lev. x. 3, *ἔσται* in Numb. vi. 20, and conflated as *ἰδοὺ ταῦτα* in Deut. xxxii. 34.

[**1324**] But again, another Evangelist might paraphrase הא according to the precedent of the LXX in Genesis as "*take*"; which, being conflated with "*this*," would produce "*This* is my body, *take* it." This, with changed order, is Mark's tradition. The addition of "*eat*"—peculiar to Matthew ("take, *eat*")—may be explained by a parallel passage in the LXX of Leviticus, "hath given it *to you to eat*." There is no "*to eat*" in the Hebrew. It has been added by the translators, partly owing to the similarity of "to you" to some forms of אכל, and partly owing to the appropriateness of the addition, which seemed to give completeness to the text[1]. The same two causes would operate here.

The introduction of "*give*" in the longer Luke and in variants of the Pauline tradition has been paralleled (**1321** *a*) by a similar introduction in the Jerusalem Targum on one passage of Genesis, and in Etheridge's translation of the Jerusalem Targum on another passage of Genesis.

[**1325**] Summing up the main facts as they might have appeared to an Evangelist at the beginning of the second century, we may say that the Pauline tradition regards the Eucharistic bread as an intercessory offering. The Apostle omits from his narrative the words "*gave it unto them*"; he inserts in the words of Jesus the phrase "*for you*." The Synoptists (excluding the longer Luke) regard the bread as a gift. They insert "gave it unto them," they omit (in the giving of the bread) "for you."

John steps in to combine both meanings. Besides repeatedly declaring that men are to feed on the Lord's flesh and blood, and besides implying that this food is freely

[1] [**1324** *a*] Lev. x. 17, "to you (לכם)," LXX ὑμῖν φαγεῖν. Owing to the freq. omission of א, many forms of אכל would need little more than transposition to resemble לכם: comp. Jer. xxx. 16 "shall *go* (ילכו)," where a transposition to יכלו has induced the LXX to give ἔδονται, "will *eat*."

given to all that will receive it, the Fourth Gospel represents Jesus as saying, "the bread that I will give is my flesh for (ὑπὲρ) the *life of the world*[1]," which suggests that the gift is more than a gift: it is also of the nature of an intercessory aid, or sacrifice. This (and the whole of the Johannine doctrine) indicates that John would have interpreted such an Aramaic phrase as, "Behold, for you, my body," as meaning "I give *both to you and for you*."

But *what* would have been given? Christ's "body"? Then why does John never speak of Christ's giving His "*body*"? Why does he habitually speak of the gift of His "flesh" and "blood"? Why, on the last night, does John make no mention of the Eucharistic Institution? These important questions, though they cannot be fully discussed, cannot be altogether avoided here, because they have a bearing upon "delivering up," as will shortly appear.

§ 4. *The Aramaic original of "my body"*

[1326] The Greek "body," σῶμα, is sometimes used in phrases like "delivering up, or surrendering, one's *body*," where we, in English, should generally use "*person*" or "*self*[2]." In Hebrew, an emphatic "*self*"—especially where emotion (as well as emphasis) is to be expressed and where there is a notion of "my very *self*," "my true *self*"—would probably be represented by "my *soul*[3]," and this would hold

[1] Jn vi. 51.

[2] [**1326** *a*] W.H. on 1 Cor. xiii. 3 quote Plut. *Demet.* 49 f. (p. 913 f.) Σελεύκῳ χρὴ τὸ σῶμα παραδοῦναι Δημήτριον...τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ σώματος: Wetst. (*ib.*) quotes Appianus *Syriac.* p. 184 παρεδίδου τὸ σῶμα τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἀπαγαγεῖν, and Maximus Tyr. vii. 9 ἐθάῤῥει ἄν, οἶμαι, καὶ τῇ Αἴτνῃ αὐτοῦ παραδοὺς τὸ σῶμα.

[3] [**1326** *b*] The extent to which the Hebrew text of O.T. uses נֶפֶשׁ, *nephesh*, "soul," is concealed from English readers by the use of "self" as a rendering for it. Trommius gives nine instances where it = ἑαυτόν, σεαυτόν &c. Where R.V. tells us that Elijah, or Jonah (1 K. xix. 4,

good not only in reflexive sentences such as "I give you my very *self*," but also in non-reflexive sentences of an emotional character, such as "*Here is my very self* [as a gift] for you[1]." This might be rendered in Greek, "*This is my body*, for you." But the Aramaic might have been "*This is* (or *behold*) *my soul*, for you." An interesting illustration of such a possibility is afforded by Wetstein's Latin translation of a passage in Berachoth, "Our ancestors delivered up their *bodies* (corpora) that God might be thereby hallowed."

Jon. iv. 8) "requested for *himself*," or that Job (xxxii. 2) "justified *himself*," the Heb. has "his *soul*." The Targum extends this use. In Ps. xviii. 23 "I kept-myself (middle form of verb) from mine iniquity," Targ. has "I kept my *soul*." In Numb. xiii. 33 "we were in *our* [*own*] *eyes*...and in *their eyes*," Onk. substitutes "*of our souls*" for "*our*"; and Jer. has not only this but also "and in the eyes of *their souls*."

[**1326** *c*] In N.T., wherever Christ is said to have "delivered up (παραδίδωμι)" or "delivered (δίδωμι)" Himself for mankind, *the Syriac in every case, and Delitzsch's modern Hebrew version in almost every case, has "His soul" for "Himself,"* e.g. Gal. i. 4, ii. 20, Eph. v. 2, 25, 1 Tim. ii. 6, Tit. ii. 14.

[**1326** *d*] In Heb. ix. 14 "offered himself up," Delitzsch has "his *bone* (עצמו)," an occasional New Heb. equivalent of "himself" (but Syr. "his soul"). This use of עצם suggests that Lk. xxiv. 39, "*flesh and bones*," may have arisen from a misunderstanding of the New Heb. "Behold me that it is I (lit.) *in my bone* (i.e. my very self)." Schöttg. (on Rom. vii. 24) shews that גוף is used with ב to mean "in person," *i.e.* "he himself," lit. "in body." Hence "It is I myself" might be expressed in Hebrew by "It is I in my *body and in my bone*." This might be paraphrased as "*flesh and bone*." The Aramaic גרם "bone" is used like the New Heb. עצם "bone": but neither of these appears to be used reflexively to the same extent as *nephesh*. Schöttgen also gives no reflexive instances of גוף.

[1] [**1326** *e*] This arises from a frequent meaning of *nephesh*, i.e. "life-blood, or an invisible power that lives and loves in the life-blood." Hence it comes to mean the *inmost* source of emotion and desire, so that "*My soul* desireth, is sorrowful &c." is a stronger expression than "*I* desire, am sorrowful." Sometimes this meaning causes ambiguity as in Isaiah v. 14 (A.V.) "Hell hath enlarged her *self*," but R.V. "her *desire*," LXX "her *soul*"; Ps. cv. 22 (R.V.) "at his *pleasure*," LXX "like *himself*," Aq. "according to his *soul*." See **1331**.

There the original has "delivered up their *souls*," i.e. lives[1]. In the Epistles to the Galatians and to the Ephesians, which declare that Christ "gave *himself*" for us, Delitzsch and the Syriac both have "gave *his soul*" for us[2].

[**1327**] The rendering of the Hebrew "*soul*" by the Greek "*body*" occurs only once in the LXX. The passage shews that the Hebrew "*soul*" corresponds to the Greek "*body*," when the meaning is "*person* (of a servant)," so that Esau's servants are described in the Hebrew as "all the *souls* of his house," but in the Greek as "all the *bodies* of his house"—a very common Greek usage in inscriptions about the sale of slaves, and in colloquial writing[3].

[**1328**] In Hebrew, "soul" is also used to mean "a dead body" that defiles by the touch. But, as the LXX never translates *nephesh* by "body" in such cases, they are not important except so far as they illustrate the wide and perplexing variety of the uses of the Hebrew word.

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[1] [**1326** *f*] Wetst. on 1 Cor. xiii. 3 quoting *Berach.* 20 *a*, where Schwab and Goldschmidt have "*life*," Pinner "*selves*."

[2] Gal. ii. 20, Eph. v. 2, 25.

[3] [**1327** *a*] Gen. xxxvi. 16. This use is v. freq. in pl., but is condemned by Phrynichus, who omits to say that it is lawful when accompanied by an epithet implying slavery, *e.g.* "captive," "domestic" &c. The LXX use in Genesis xxxvi. 16 might be justified by the genitive οἴκου: comp. Aeschin. 14. 18 τὰ σώματα τῶν οἰκετῶν. Σῶμα is freq. used in the sing. in forms of sale of slaves, σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον &c., *e.g.* Boeckh, 1607, 1756, 1757.

[**1327** *b*] Rev. xviii. 11—13 enumerates more than a score of articles of merchandise, ending thus:—"and cattle and sheep and [merchandise] of horses and chariots *and bodies and* (accus.) *souls of men*." W.H. print this (no doubt correctly) as a quotation from Ezek. xxvii. 13, where the context enumerates "silver, iron, tin...*souls of men*, vessels of brass... horses...." There the meaning is clearly "*slaves*," LXX "souls of men," Vulg. "mancipia," R.V. "persons of men." This indicates that Rev. here borrowed from a Hebrew tradition mentioning merely "*souls of men*" (i.e. slaves), and not intending to convey the notion of "soul" as distinct from "body." The Greek translator of the tradition—whether the author of the Apocalypse borrowed from him or was identical with him—appears to have conflated it as "(a_1) *bodies*, (a_2) *souls of men*."

[**1329**] More important is the fact that the Hebrew "soul" means "tombstone" or "*memorial*"—*and this, both in New Hebrew, in Aramaic, and in Syriac, and apparently very often*[1]. Hence, in explaining our Lord's brief words, an early Evangelist might contend that—besides the oral Greek rendering "*This is my body*," which had been adopted as a popular and concrete way of expressing the Aramaic to Greeks—they also meant "*This is my ever-present memorial for you*," implying that the disciples were to repeat the act[2] in memory of Jesus. Thus we can explain one of the most perplexing phenomena in N.T., namely, that St Paul alone inserts the beautiful saying "*Do this in remembrance of me.*" Although they are to be retained as a legitimate inference for the guidance of the practice of Christians, and although they may express what was in the mind of Christ, the words may not have been actually uttered by Him but may have been, in part, suggested by one of many renderings of the words "Behold, [here is] my soul for you[3]."

[**1330**] If "*soul*," in the sense of "*self*," represents Christ's actual utterance in the Institution of the Eucharist, we may perhaps attain to a closer perception of His feeling for the disciples by applying to Him the words used by His Apostle to the Thessalonians: "In our yearning for you we were well pleased to impart unto you not only the Gospel of God but also *our own souls*[4]." The language is that of a nurse giving milk from her breast to the babe; and Clement of Alexandria describes the Logos both as a nurse giving us milk, and as

[1] [**1329** *a*] See Castell, and Levy iii. 426 *a*. But Levy's derivation of the word (from ψυχή, "butterfly") has not the slightest evidence even alleged for it; and it is extremely improbable.

[2] That is, the act of delivering up their souls for one another as He delivered up His soul for them.

[3] But there may have been more causes than one for the adoption of this tradition. For Jewish traditions connecting the Passover with the phrase "in remembrance," see Appendix II. For *nephesh*, "tombstone," see **1398** *a*—*c*.

[4] 1 Thess. ii. 8.

our sacrifice, affording us His flesh and blood[1]. The same writer, a little earlier, represents the Logos as saying to mankind, "Come unto me...I *bestow on you my complete self*[2]."

[**1331**] This leads us to the abovementioned (**1326** *e*) meaning of the Hebrew "*nephesh*," namely, life-blood, and hence life. Once more does our English Version disguise from us the Hebrew usage in regard to this word, by rendering it, perhaps inevitably in many cases, "*life*." Sometimes this is, or endangers, a loss. The Law given to Noah was, "Flesh, with the *soul* thereof, [which is] the blood thereof, shall ye not eat[3]." Hence, if our Lord said to the disciples, "Here is my *soul*, for you," He implied a kind of spiritual reversal of the ancient Law. The "blood," or "soul," of the animal nature was not to be violently taken from it and "eaten." It was to be poured out on the earth unto the Lord, or sprinkled upon His worshippers. But the "blood," or "soul," of the spiritual nature, the "soul" of God[4], ever giving itself freely for others —this is to be taken from Him as His free gift:—"*My flesh, with the soul thereof, [which is] the blood thereof, shall ye eat.*"

§ 5. *The "delivering up" of the soul*

[**1332**] If our Lord had really used any Aramaic word that literally signified "body" in the Institution of the Eucharist, it would not have been possible to bring the formula ("This is my body") into any direct verbal connexion with His life and work as described by the Synoptists:

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[1] Clem. 123 "The Word is all things to the babe, both Father and Mother and Tutor and Nurse, 'Eat ye my flesh,' He says, 'and drink ye my blood.'"

[2] *Ib.* 93 τέλειον ἐμαυτὸν χαρίζομαι.

[3] Gen. ix. 4.

[4] [**1331** *a*] A "soul" is attributed to God in Lev. xxvi. 11, 30, Judg. x. 16, Ps. xi. 5, Is. i. 14, xlii. 1, Jer. v. 9, 29, vi. 8, ix. 9, xiv. 19 &c.

but if He said "This is my *soul*, for you," the case is altered. For then we are thrown back at once on His fundamental doctrine of the "losing and finding" (or, "destroying and vivifying") the *soul*, which our Lord—on this hypothesis of the original Aramaic—after teaching in word to His disciples, now exemplifies for them in *act*:—leaving them, as John says[1], an example, that they should "do to one another" as He was now doing, or, as Paul says[2], bidding them do what He was doing "in remembrance" of Him, that is to say, "*losing*" the soul, or "*delivering it up*" to death, in the service of men, the children of God, that thereby they might "*find*" it again in God, the Father of men.

[**1333**] This view also brings the Eucharistic act into immediate relation with the words of Isaiah, who describes the Suffering Servant as "pouring out his *soul* unto death," and connects "his *soul*" with the word "trespass-offering." We have seen that the former of these expressions was rendered by the Targum, "He *delivered up* his soul unto death." If this expression was among those used by our Lord in predicting His death and resurrection, and if it was also in His mind when He inculcated on the disciples the duty of "destroying" the soul in order to "make it live[3]," then it would seem appropriate that the words of Institution should have originally contained a reference to the same

[1] Jn xiii. 15.

[2] 1 Cor. xi. 24: comp. Rom. xii. 1 "I beseech you, therefore, brethren,...that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice."

[3] [**1333** *a*] "Make it live," Lk. xvii. 33 *ζωογονήσει*. Comp. Levy iii. 59 *b* on the doctrine of "killing the soul that it may live," or "killing the soul" in the study of the Law, where, however, the word for "soul," *i.e.* self, is the Hebrew עֶצֶם, "bone," not *nephesh*. Mt. x. 39, parall. to Lk. xvii. 33, has *εὑρήσει*. The Synoptists elsewhere use *σώζειν* (Mk viii. 35, Mt. xvi. 25, Lk. ix. 24, but Mt. xvi. 25 also has *εὑρήσει*, and Lk. xvii. 33 also has *περιποιήσασθαι*). The variations "find," "save," "make to live," are best satisfied by an original חיה (in causative) variously translated into Greek in order to suit the double meaning of *ἀπόλλυμι*, (1) "destroy," (2) "lose."

prophecy, as being now at last typically fulfilled: "Behold, here is my soul, 'delivered up' to you as your food, and for you as your purification."

[**1334**] But again, owing to the close connexion of *nephesh* and "life-blood," the words "This is my soul for you" would suggest the giving of His life-blood for the forgiveness of the sins of the disciples, especially to those who went back from the Targum, "*delivered up* his soul," to Isaiah's Hebrew, "*poured out* his soul." The words of Institution relating to the cup vary so greatly in the different accounts that it is impossible to ascertain what were the precise words uttered by our Lord; but the mention of a New Covenant, or Testament, in connexion with "blood," suggests an allusion to preceding Covenants. There was the old Covenant, with Israel, ratified by sacrificial blood. But there was also the older Covenant, with all mankind, typified in Noah, ratified also by sacrifice. And in this, the earliest of Covenants, the "soul" and the "blood" are expressly identified. It has been pointed out (**1331**) that possibly the New Covenant may contain a kind of spiritual reversal of the material enactment in that earliest of all the Covenants. But in any case, this connexion (in Hebrew and Jewish thought and literature) between "soul" and "blood" somewhat strengthens the hypothesis that the Original here contained some mention of "soul." It may also explain in part (but only in part) Luke's twofold mention of the cup in the Eucharist.

[**1335**] Further—if we put aside for a moment the mere question of "*delivering up* the soul" and glance at the second of Isaiah's phrases, "the making of the soul a trespass-offering"—the hypothesis that our Lord frequently spoke of His "soul" in the language of Isaiah might help us to explain a difficult passage of the Fourth Gospel in which Jesus is represented as repeatedly saying that He "lays down" or has "authority to lay down" His soul (*i.e.* life) for His sheep, and also to "take it up."

[**1336**] *No instance* (*in the Lexicons*) *outside the Gospel and the Epistle of John, has been alleged of this Greek phrase*, which is literally "*put* his soul[1]." It is an exact translation—or, at all events, equivalent—of the phrase in Isaiah (**1267**) "make his soul a trespass-offering," as the Hebrew verb means "*put*" (being rendered "put" by the LXX about 240 times)[2]. The Greek "*put*" is used of "putting (down)," i.e. *paying*, so many talents, minae, drachmae &c.; but it can also mean "*put out* (*at interest*)," "*put* (*on deposit*)," and even "*pawn*[3]." The verb in Isaiah

[1] [**1336** *a*] Westcott (on Jn x. 11) says, "The phrase is peculiar to St John (in the New Testament) x. 11, 15, 17, xiii. 37, 38, xv. 13, 1 Jn iii. 16, and is not found elsewhere." By "elsewhere" Westcott perhaps means "elsewhere in the Old Testament," about which it is possible to pronounce a universal negative that cannot be pronounced concerning Greek literature. But Steph. *Thes.*, Wahl, and Thayer, allege no instance from any author but John. He might have used *κατατίθημι* (**1336** *e*).

[2] [**1336** *b*] The LXX here renders it *δίδωμι*, "*give*." It does the same in Is. xlvii. 6, li. 23 (*δίδωμι* in O.T. often having the force of "appoint," or "make"): but the other translators render it *τίθημι* in li. 23, as also does Aq. in Exod. xl. 30, Deut. vii. 15, Is. lvii. 1, where LXX deviates. It would be characteristic of John to follow the more accurate rendering of the Hebrew, as he does in Jn xix. 37 "him whom they pierced" (against the LXX) (**1258–66**).

[3] [**1336** *c*] Steph. *Thes.* 2175 quotes Dem. 1250, 20 *τίθημι οὖν τὴν συνοικίαν ἐκκαίδεκα μνῶν*, and Aristoph. *Pl.* 451, *Eccles.* 755 *τ. ἐνέχυρον*, but no instance of the absolute use of the active; and *ἐνέχυρον* is also added in *Pap. Fayum* 109 (early A.D.).

These and other meanings of *τίθημι* are illustrated by a passage in the Double Tradition about the Talents or Pounds:

Mt. xxv. 24	Lk. xix. 21
...θερίζων ὅπου οὐκ ἔσπειρας καὶ συνάγων ὅθεν οὐ διεσκόρπισας.	*...αἴρεις ὃ οὐκ ἔθηκας καὶ θερίζεις ὃ οὐκ ἔσπειρας.*

[**1336** *d*] As sums of money have been mentioned in what precedes, Luke's *ἔθηκας* would naturally mean "deposited," and the sentence would run thus: "You exact (lit. take up) [money] that you did not *deposit* [because you require usury]." The Syriac (for *ἔθηκας*) has ממת from שום or סים. But the corresponding Hebrew (שׂום), in Isaiah xxviii. 25, means "*put* [*in the ground*]," i.e. "*sow*," being applied specially to corn, and paralleled with "*cast abroad*" and "*scatter*." The Targum on

(above (**1267**) mentioned as being variously interpreted) corresponds to a noun signifying "a *putting*, or *deposit* (of money)" in Leviticus; and the unique character of the Greek phrase in John suggests that it was derived by him from a literal rendering of the corresponding phrase in Isaiah[1]—in what sense, or senses, will appear below.

[**1337**] We have seen above (**1275-81**) that Mark and Matthew represent Jesus as saying that He "came to *give* his soul as a *ransom*," but Luke entirely deviates from them. Taking "*ransom*" as equivalent to *asham*, and remembering that in *The Suffering Servant* the LXX renders "*put*" by "*give*" (**1267**, **1336** *b*), we find that the two earlier Evangelists closely agree with Isaiah ("put his soul as *asham*"), only deviating from the Hebrew by adopting the LXX rendering of the verb ("*give*"). If John borrowed the words from Isaiah but translated them more exactly ("*put* [*down*] *the*

Isaiah drops "*put*" and has simply "*scatter*" and "*sow*." Matthew may have done the same here, substituting "*sow*" for "*put*." Then, for the sake of the antithesis between "sow" and "reap," he may have paraphrased "take up" as "reap."

[**1336** *e*] Wetstein (on Lk. xix. 21) gives no instance of this antithetical use of *αἴρω* and *τίθημι* (but only of *ἀναιροῦμαι* (or, *λαμβάνω*) and *κατατίθημι*, or *-μαι*). Luke's use is important because of its bearing on the frequent use of this antithesis in John (**1335**), in our Lord's words about "laying down and taking up" His "soul" (R.V. "life"). The extracts above given from the Parables indicate that Matthew perhaps confuses—and that Luke certainly parallels—a metaphor of "*depositing*" with a metaphor of "*sowing*." Similarly John may have seen a parallel between "*depositing*" *the soul with God and* "*depositing*" *the seed in the ground.* This is suggested by the words (Jn xii. 24) "Except a *grain of wheat fall into the earth* and die, it abideth [by] itself alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

[1] [**1336** *f*] "Deposit (תשומה)" occurs nowhere in the Bible except Lev. vi. 2, LXX *κοινωνίας*, al. *θέματι* or *πιστώσει*. In Is. liii. 10, תשים—especially as it is followed by א—might be confused with תשומה, "deposit." Another easy error would be to regard שם(א) as a part of שום so that "put as an *asham*" was taken as a reduplication of "put." Others may have taken אשם, "trespass-offering," "ransom," as meaning "price," and as implied in *τίθημι*, "I pay down."

soul [*as payment of ransom*]"), this would be one more instance to prove the rule that where Luke deviates from Mark, John intervenes.

[**1338**] Perhaps, also (**1336** *e*), John may have used the antithesis "*put down*," "*take up*," with some allusion to a double meaning—usury and harvest. The latter thought seems to underlie the words "The hour is come that the Son of man shall be glorified. Verily, verily, I say unto you, *except a grain of wheat fall into the earth* and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit[1]." But the Evangelist lays more stress on the former, namely, the "*putting* [*down*]" of the soul as money to be a ransom for others (as Philo says (**1285**) that "every wise man is a ransom for the bad"), so that the ransomer receives back not his own soul only but the souls of others as well. This duty is described in the Fourth Gospel as extending to the disciples, and not to the Master alone, "This is my commandment that ye love one another *even as I have loved you*. Greater love hath no man than this that he *put* [*down*] *his soul for his friends*. Ye are my friends if ye abide-doing that which I am commanding you," *i.e.* if ye shew your love by "*putting* [*down*]" *your souls* for one another as I do mine for you[2].

[**1339**] Thus, in many unexpected ways, the Fourth Evangelist is found agreeing with the Eucharistic or Intercessory doctrine expressed by St Paul—but not by Mark and Matthew so far as concerns the giving of the bread—

[1] [**1338** *a*] Jn xii. 23–4. The thought may be illustrated by Coloss. iii. 3 "Ye are *dead*, and your life is *hid* with Christ in God." *i.e.* as the seed is *hidden* in the earth. Comp. Lk. xiii. 19—21 "like a *grain*...that a man took and cast into *his garden*...like *leaven* that a woman took and *hid* (ἔκρυψεν) in three measures of meal," where Luke's grouping (agreeing with that of Mt. xiii. 32–3) shews that the "leaven," like the "grain," implies the merging of self in the community, and the surrender of a lower life as a condition of obtaining the higher.

[2] Jn xv. 12–4.

and endeavouring to do justice to what appears to be the historical truth obscured by the earlier Gospels. Nor ought we to be surprised if he occasionally inserts explanations (or what would be called by a Jew, Targums[1]) on a subject so barely, inadequately, and perhaps inaccurately treated by Mark. Consider—on the supposition that Luke's longer version was not widely and authoritatively circulated till the first or second decad of the second century—how meagre must have been the Evangelical accounts of Messianic or intercessory doctrine: the mentions of "*delivering up*" being in every case associated not with the Father but with Judas; the single mention of "*ransom*" being omitted by Luke; and, in the Eucharist itself, no mention of a memorial, or "*remembrance*," nor of anything to be "*done*" by the disciples, not even a suggestion that the sacred bread was of the nature of a sacrifice!

[**1340**] But the historical fact was that this Eucharistic doctrine pervaded Christ's acts and words. Our Lord, like St Paul His "imitator[2]," regarded Himself as "ever" being "delivered up[3]" for the sons of men, and as being their perpetual "ransom," their purifier, their sacrifice, their spiritual food. Like St Paul He was ever striving—in the synagogue at Capernaum[4] as well as in "the upper-room" of Jerusalem—to impart unto His converts "not only the Gospel of God" but also His

[1] [**1339** *a*] Thus Jn iii. 16—21 is called "a commentary" by Westcott: but it is not certain that the commentary does not begin earlier. Concerning Jn i. 16, Westcott says, "These words and those which follow are certainly words of the Evangelist," *i.e.* not those of John the Baptist above described as speaking. As regards iii. 16—21, he says, "The conclusion appears to be firmly established from details of expression." In a Western historian, *e.g.* Herodotus or Thucydides, we should expect clear demarcation between the speeches and the facts recorded by the historian, and there ought to be no need to distinguish the two by inferences from "details of expression." But there is such a need sometimes in the Bible and in Hebrew literature generally.

[2] "Imitator," see 1 Cor. xi. 1. [3] 2 Cor. iv. 11. [4] Jn vi. 59.

own "soul[1]," His "complete self[2]"—that is to say, in the later language of the Fourth Gospel, His flesh and blood, indeed the meat, and indeed the drink, of those who lived "because of" Him, as He lived "because of" the Father[3].

§ 6. Lk. xxii. 21 "*The hand of him that delivereth me up*"

[1341] In relating the sending forth of the Apostles, Luke has two accounts, one dealing with the Twelve, the other dealing with the Seventy (a number only mentioned by himself). The latter contains several of such phrases in Matthew's sending of the Twelve as are omitted in Mark's parallel account. Somewhat similarly, in his narrative of the Eucharist, Luke has two accounts. Of these the former is peculiar to himself, mentioning "this passover" (instead of "bread" and "body") and a "cup" (but without any reference to "blood"). This account of Luke's appears to include most of what is in the Synoptic, as distinct from the Pauline, Tradition—only in different language and context. For example, the word "Take (ye)" is applied by Mark and Matthew only to the "bread," but in Luke only to the "cup":

Mk	Mt.	Lk.
"*Take* (*ye*)"	"*Take* (*ye*), *eat*"	"With desire have I desired to *eat* this passover"
[They drank]	"Drink ye"	"*Take* (*ye*)...distribute to one another"
"I will assuredly not drink any longer of the fruit of the vine till.....in the kingdom of God[4]."	"I will assuredly not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine till ...in the kingdom of my Father[4]."	"I will assuredly not drink from now of the fruit of the vine till the kingdom of God come[4]."

[1] 1 Thess. ii. 8. [2] Clem. Alex. 93. [3] Jn vi. 55–7.

[4] [1341 *a*] Perh. the Original had "the kingdom that is to *come* (הבוא)." "*Come*," בוא, seems to have been read by some as אבי "my

[1342] At the words "kingdom of God, *or*, of my Father" Mark's and Matthew's account of the Eucharist terminates. But with Luke the (second) account begins, as follows, including (in his shorter version, which excludes the Pauline tradition) nothing but the giving of the bread :—

"And having taken bread, having given thanks, he brake and gave to them, saying, This is my body [[which is being given for you...which is being poured out for you]]. But behold the hand of him that is *delivering* me *up* is with me at (lit. on) the table."

[1343] Compare this last sentence (and what follows) with the parallels in Mark and Matthew, and it will be found that their clause about "*delivering up*" is of a more simple and less Hebraic nature ("one of you will *deliver* me *up*"), plainly pointing to some one of the Apostles, and exciting a questioning among them ("they began...to say"). Luke does not exclude the questioning, but he places it after a *second* mention of "delivering up" ("woe to that man through whom he is being *delivered up*. And they began to question"):

Mk xiv. 18—21	Mt. xxvi. 21–4	Lk. xxii. 21–3
"'Verily I say unto you that *one of you* will DELIVER me UP, *he that is eating with me*.' They began...But he said to them, '*One of the Twelve, he that is dipping with me*	"'Verily I say unto you that *one of you* will DELIVER me UP.' And they began.... But he answering said, '*He that hath dipped with me his hand in the dish*, this [man] will	"'Yet behold *the hand of him* that IS DELIVERING me UP [is] *with me at the table*. Because the Son of man indeed goeth according to that which is ordained, yet woe to

Father," which was accepted by Matthew but paraphrased by Mark as "God." Luke has conflated the original "*come*" with Mark's paraphrase "God." Comp. 2 Chr. iv. 16 "his *father*," LXX "and he *brought up*," Is. ix. 6 "*Father*," LXX "I will *lead*," in both of which passages LXX read the causative of "*come*," as also probably in 1 S. xx. 13.

Mk xiv. 18—21	Mt. xxvi. 21–4	Lk. xxii. 21–3
in[*to*] *the* [*one*] dish. Because the Son of man departeth indeed as it is written concerning him, but woe to that man through whom the Son of man is being DELIVERED UP...'"	deliver me up. The Son of man departeth indeed as it is written concerning him, but woe to that man through whom the Son of man is being DELIVERED UP...'"	that man through whom he is being DELIVERED UP.' And they began..."

[**1344**] John, as usual in such cases, intervenes, not here, as is often the case, supporting Mark indirectly by elucidating or spiritualizing his meaning, but repeating his words exactly[1]. He takes pains, however, to prepare the way for the words by saying that Jesus previously said that "*not all*" the disciples were "clean"—for "he knew him that was to *deliver* him *up*"—and again, "I speak *not about you all.* I know whom I have chosen, but that the Scripture might be fulfilled. 'He that eateth my bread hath lifted up his heel against me[2].'" Then at last he introduces the Synoptic prediction of treachery, thus:

"Having said these things Jesus was troubled in spirit and bare witness and said, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you that one of you will *deliver* me *up*.' The disciples began to look at one another being perplexed...[3]."

[**1345**] The evidence of John ought to have great weight in favour of the words omitted by Luke ("One of you..."): and it is antecedently probable that the treachery of Judas was foreknown by our Lord, and that He mourned over it and did not conceal His sorrow. But what could induce Luke to omit such simple words as "One of you shall deliver me up" if he believed that the Lord had really uttered them? Does not Luke's omission indicate that he considered them

[1] See Preface, p. ix.

[2] Jn xiii. 10, 11, 18.

[3] Jn xiii. 21–2.

to be a paraphrase? John, it is true, affirms the utterance. But John also says that Jesus quoted the words of the Psalmist, "He that eateth my bread." No other Evangelist says this: yet why should any Evangelist omit a quotation, made by our Lord Himself, and so apt to the occasion? Again, Mark—that most conflative of Evangelists—has no less than four phrases to define the traitor:—(1) "*one of you*," (2) "*he that is eating with me*," (3) "*one of the Twelve*," (4) "*he that is dipping with me in the* [*one*] *dish*." Matthew gives only two of these. Luke has none, but substitutes "*the hand is with me at the table*."

Do not the facts suggest that Mark is trying to express in several phrases some Hebrew or Aramaic idiom denoting that the person delivering up Jesus was in the most intimate intercourse with Him, and that John may be giving us, in his quotation from the Psalms, an insight into some Hebrew tradition—whether it be a part of the Original or a Hebrew gloss on it—which Mark has failed to represent? If so, may not that Original be the common source of Mark's conflations and of John's detailed narrative?

[**1346**] Two hypotheses are open. Either John is right, and there was some original reference to the treacherous friend in the Psalms; or else Luke is right, and the Original mentioned one "at the table delivering me up," which was taken, perhaps by Mark tacitly, and by John explicitly, as referring to the Psalmist's words "Yea, *the man of my peace* in whom I trusted, that ate my bread[1]."

[**1347**] If John was right and there was an original mention of "the man of my peace," how could Luke misunderstand it? For שלום, "*peace*," is a word used both in Hebrew and Aramaic, known to many Greeks ignorant of both languages in the salutation "*Peace* be unto you." And

[1] Ps. xli. 9 (R.V.) "Yea, mine own familiar friend (lit. man of my peace, איש שלומי), in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread."

Luke could hardly fail to be familiar with the Psalm and to recognize the aptness of the quotation.

[1348] But, on the second hypothesis, if Luke was right, and if our Lord spoke in Aramaic of "him that is delivering me up," using a form of *shâlam*[1], "*deliver up*," which is allied to and almost identical with *shâloum*, "*peace*," then it is antecedently probable that those later interpreters of the Gospel whose minds were fixed on Judas as the only person that could be said to "*deliver* Jesus *up*," would recur to the curious vocal coincidence of the Psalmist's expression, "the man *of my peace*," which (so Christians would naturally say) contained a prediction of "the man *of delivering up*," that is, the future betrayer of the Messiah, and, at the same time, "the eater of His bread." "Men *of thy peace*, [*of*] *thy bread*," *i.e.* thy companions at table, occurs again in the seventh verse of Obadiah, so that the term might all the more naturally be associated in the Jewish Christian mind with the thought of Judas. This, being conflated with the original tradition of "the hand" (Lk. "the *hand* of him that delivereth me up") and being applied to a friendly meal, might produce various traditions about (Mt.) "dipping with me the *hand* in the dish," (Mk) "dipping [the hand] with me into the dish," (Mk as in SS) "putting forth his *hand* with me in the dish[2]": and compare (Jn) "for whom I shall dip the sop and give it him." Moreover this hypothesis—of origination from a gloss, "man of my peace"—would explain Mark's different expressions for "the man of my peace" ("one of the Twelve," "one of you," "one eating with me," "he that is dipping with

[1] A form of this verb is used in the Syriac in Lk. xxii. 21 and is the regular word to express "delivering up." Comp. **1302** *a*.

[2] [**1348** *a*] Mt. xxvi. 23, Mk xiv. 20 (many Latin MSS ins. "the hand"). The variant "put forth" may be illustrated by the parallelism in Sir. xxxiv. 14 "Do not *stretch out* the hand [to food] and do not *break* [*bread*] (συνθλίβου, Heb. ריחר, said to be an error for תיחר "join thyself") with him in the dish," and comp. Sir. xxxiv. 18 "stretch not forth thy hand before them," *i.e.* to eat.

me"). It would also adequately explain why most of these are omitted by the other Evangelists[1].

[**1349**] But if Luke's tradition is closest to the Original, what does it precisely mean? It is generally, and very naturally, taken to refer to "the hand" of the traitor Judas, which was "with" the Lord at "the table" of the Eucharistic meal. But is this rendering in accordance with Biblical usage? Can any instance be produced from O.T. in Hebrew, or from N.T. in Greek, where a person's "*hand*" is said to be "*with*" another in a *hostile* sense? On the contrary, according to the usage of O.T., "the hand of the Lord," or, more frequently, of a king, ruler, patron &c., is said to be "*with*" a person, when the Lord, or the king, is *on his side, strengthening him*[2]. Similarly the dependence of the Messiah upon the "hand" of the Lord is expressed in the Psalms, "Let thy *hand* be upon the man of thy right hand," and in Isaiah, "In the shadow of his *hand* hath he hid me[3]." No doubt, if Luke had written "His hand is *upon* me," the phrase, being ambiguous[4], might have been taken to refer to Judas. But Luke has written "*with*," not "*upon*."

[1] [**1348** *b*] The phrase "men-of-his-peace" occurs in the Psalms (lv. 20), not meaning a traitor, but a traitor's unsuspecting friends, in a context that might suggest to an Evangelist here the notion of stretching out the hand and sweetening the bread in wine (Ps. lv. 13, 14, 20) (Heb.) "Mine acquaintance...we took sweet counsel together...he hath stretched forth his hands against [*men*]-*at-peace-with-him* (שלמיו)," (LXX) "Mine acquaintance...who together [with me] didst sweeten delicacies (*ἐγλύκανας ἐδέσματα*)...he stretched forth his hand in *requiting* [*evil*]," taking *shâlam*, "be-at-peace," as "*repay*," "*requite*," a meaning that it frequently has.

[2] [**1349** *a*] 1 S. xxii. 17, 2 S. iii. 12, xiv. 19, 2 K. xv. 19, 1 Chr. iv. 10. The hand is generally that of man, 1 Chr. iv. 10 being exceptional. But comp. Ps. lxxxix. 21 "with whom my (God's) hand shall be established."

[3] [**1349** *b*] Ps. lxxx. 17, Is. xlix. 2. Comp. Ps. xvii. 14 "men...*thy hand*," Targ. "the saints that have delivered up (מסר) their souls for thee, Jehovah, to death on earth," *i.e.* thy martyrs.

[4] Comp. Ps. cxxxix. 5—10, where the Targum has (cxxxix. 5) (Walton) "concitasti super me percussionem manuum tuarum," as a rendering of, "Thou hast *laid thine hand upon me*." But the Psalmist continues, "...even there shall *thy hand* lead me and *thy right hand* shall hold me."

[1350] Moreover, in N.T., beside the frequent use of "with me" to mean "on my side" (*e.g.* "he that is not *with me* is against me"), we have *two instances of it in conjunction with "the hand of the Lord," and both of these are in works edited by Luke*:—"*The hand of the Lord was with him*," "*The hand of the Lord was with them*," the meaning being that the Lord was strengthening, severally, John the Baptist and the Apostles of Jesus Christ[1]. Again, Peter, in the Acts, after describing "the rulers" as "gathered against the Lord and against his Christ," immediately apostrophizes God, saying that they were (iv. 28) "to do whatsoever *thy hand* and thy counsel *fore-ordained* to come to pass," using, in "*fore-ordained*," a word very similar to Luke's "ordained" here ("the Son of man goeth according to that which is *ordained*") which Luke appears to prefer to the expression in the earlier Gospels, "as it is written."

These considerations suggest the conclusion that the tradition about "the hand," peculiar to Luke, is to be interpreted in connexion with its context, as follows, "*The hand of the Father who is delivering me up for the sons of men is with me at this table of the New Covenant, strengthening me for the sacrifice.* The departure of the Son of man is ordained by God:—yet woe unto him through whom he is to be delivered up."

§ 7. *The consistency of Luke's account*

[1351] Luke's second account of the Eucharistic words (beginning with, "This is my body") appears—if we exclude the doubtful verses[2]—to contain no mention of "blood" or a "covenant"; nor does it appear at first sight to mention anything that is of the nature of a sacrifice. But if we read continuously this part of Luke's version of Christ's utterances

[1] Lk. i. 66, Acts xi. 21.
[2] Lk. xxii. 19 *b*, 20.

—excluding narrative, and passing over the discussion about supremacy, which is parallel to an earlier portion of Mark—we have the following:

"This is my body. Yet[1] behold the hand of him that delivereth me up is with me at the table, because the Son of man goeth in accordance with that which is ordained—yet[1] woe to that man through whom he is to be delivered up. But ye (emph.) are they that have remained constant with me in my trials, and I am *covenanting* with you, as my Father *covenanted* with me, a kingdom, that ye may eat and drink at *my table* in my kingdom and may sit upon thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel[2]."

[**1352**] What is meant by these "thrones," and this "eating" and "drinking"? The answer is indicated by Christ's reply to the petition of the sons of Zebedee for the two chief thrones: "Can ye *drink of the cup that I shall drink*?"—implying that the "throne" is supremacy in suffering for others; and this suffering corresponds to what Isaiah calls "*pouring out the soul* (i.e. *the life-blood*) unto death." "At the *table*," in the first mention of the word, appears to mean simply and literally the table at which the disciples were supping, and at which the Son felt the strengthening "hand" of the Father "with him." The prophet Malachi[3], it is true, twice gives the name of "*the Lord's table*" to the altar at Jerusalem, and St Paul applies the name to the Eucharistic table of Christians. Luke also may have taken it thus. But, even without any allusion to Malachi, our Lord might say

[1] [**1351** *a*] "Yet," in each case, appears to indicate an abrupt contrariety. But in the first, the meaning is not quite so easy to explain as (**1313**) in the second. It appears to imply, after "my body," some words like "delivered up to death," and to indicate that, in spite of the apparent contrariety, the hand that delivers Him up to death is "*with*" *Him*, that is, *on His side*: "This is my body [broken, wounded, bleeding]: *yet* the hand that delivereth me up [to these sufferings] is present with me as that of a Friend, because I suffer in accordance with His will."

[2] Lk. xxii. 19 *a*, 21, 22, 28—30.

[3] Mal. i. 7, 12, Hastings, *Dict. Bib.* "Table."

that the Father was "with" Him at the Eucharistic Table on which the New Sacrifice was instituted, and might then refer to the sacrificial act as an act of "covenanting[1]," and to the covenant as made "at *my table*."

[**1353**] The words "I am covenanting with you as my Father covenanted with me a kingdom that ye may eat and drink," appear to find their equivalent in the Fourth Gospel: "As the living Father sent me and I live because of (διὰ with accus.) the Father, so also he that eateth me he shall live because of me[2]." That is to say, as God the Father gives Himself to be the food of the Son of God, so the Son of God gives Himself to be the food of the sons of men that they may become the sons of God. Anthropomorphically, we may say that filial love is the condition or law of existence for the Son, and that it corresponds to human brotherly self-sacrifice, or kindly service, in men. This constitutes, in Luke, a "*covenant*" between the Lord and His disciples:—the stipulation being, "I covenant to give myself to, and for, you, on condition that you give yourselves to, and for, one another." This also constitutes a "*kingdom*," because the height of a man's power to reign is proportioned to the depth of his power to serve, God Himself being the Servant of servants[3].

[**1354**] Undoubtedly it is very hard for modern readers to realise that "the hand of him that delivereth me up" means anything but the hand of Judas. But does not that arise in large measure from the fact that we are familiar from our childhood with translations of other parts of the Gospels in which Jesus is said to have described Himself as destined to

[1] Comp. Ps. l. 5 "Gather ye together unto me my saints, them that have made a covenant with me with sacrifice."

[2] Jn vi. 57, comp. Jn iv. 34 "My meat is to do the will of him that sent me."

[3] This interpretation of "*kingdom*" explains why Luke inserts here (xxii. 27) "I am among you as he that *ministereth*" and (xxii. 26) "he that *ruleth* as he that *ministereth*."

be (A.V.) "betrayed," whereas the right rendering would indicate that He meant "delivered up," and, apparently, not by Judas but by the Father? We have to bring ourselves to recognize that in these predictions of Paradosis, as in His other utterances, our Lord was far above, not below, the level of an average Hebrew prophet; that He thought (as well as spoke) of Himself as "Son of man," not as "Jesus of Nazareth"; and that He habitually regarded His "delivering up," not as the betrayal of one called Jesus by one called Judas, but as a Messianic sacrifice, fore-ordained by the divine will.

[1355] If we further admit that St Paul, whenever he uses the term "delivered up" in connexion with Jesus Christ, always[1] contemplates as the agent the Father or the Son, and never Judas, and if we accept the general belief that Luke often wrote largely under Pauline influence, it must seem that the Greek word *παραδίδωμι*, when applied by our Lord to His Passion in traditions peculiar to Luke, must be taken as a matter of course to refer to the primary or Messianic Paradosis, the one predicted by Isaiah, and never to the secondary "delivering up" by Judas to the Jews (or by the Jews to Pilate) except in special contexts that make the latter meaning necessary. No doubt, Luke elsewhere sometimes follows Mark in the application of the term to the act of Judas. But he does not do so in his list of the Twelve[2], where Mark speaks of Judas as "*delivering up*" Jesus, but Luke says that he "*became a traitor.*" And it is antecedently improbable that he would do so here, where he deviates altogether from Mark and apparently resorts to other apostolic traditions.

[1] "*Always*," i.e. setting aside the use in 1 Cor. xi. 23, which is the subject of discussion. As to the other Pauline instances, all must admit that the word does not mean "betrayed." As to that single instance some may maintain that it is a unique exception.

[2] Mk iii. 19 *παρέδωκεν* (Mt. x. 4 *παραδούς*), Lk. vi. 16 *προδότης*.

[**1356**] According to this view, our Lord's mind had been set, long before, upon His divinely ordained martyrdom—whether called (**1195**) "delivering up of the soul" or "perfecting"—which, indeed, according to Luke, had been the subject of discourse on the Mount of Transfiguration under the name of "*fulfilling*" a "*departure*," and had been predicted by Him under the name of "*perfecting*" on the way to Jerusalem[1]. Now, on the night of the Eucharist, the hour of "fulfilling" had arrived. But, if we are to take a complete view of this Paradosis, we must bear in mind that the term means, primarily, both in Greek and in Hebrew, a *tradition*. In Greek, it means any tradition; in Hebrew, under the term *Massora*, it means the Tradition of the Law. It was therefore not only the eve of Paradosis in the sense of sacrificial martyrdom, but also the eve of a New Massora, consisting, however, not in a code of rules but in a new spiritual life infused into men by pouring out, into them and for them, the spiritual life-blood of a supreme human nature at one with the divine.

[**1357**] If these thoughts were in our Lord's mind, then there may be a connexion, not at first sight apparent, between the words "This is my body" and "Yet behold the hand...." The former, uttered in the act of delivering the bread to the disciples, would mean "I deliver unto you my very self." The latter would add, "Yet I am not alone in this act. The hand of Him that delivereth me unto you is on my side, because the Son of man goeth in accordance with His will."

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[1] [**1356** *a*] (1) Lk. ix. 31 "They spake concerning his *departure* which he was destined to *fulfil* in Jerusalem." The Syriac has the same word *shâlam* as that used above to mean "be *perfected*." But it may also (**1302** *a*) mean "*delivered up*." Mrs Gibson, in marg., has "that he was about to be *betrayed*" (i.e. "*delivered up*"). Walton takes the verb as a middle, "quem completurus erat." (2) (Lk. xiii. 32–3) "On the third day I am [destined to be] perfected: ...for it cannot be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem."

And the last words would explain to the disciples that this "eating" and "drinking" implied a New Covenant made with a sacrifice, and connected with a feast consisting of the Eucharistic flesh and blood.

[**1358**] In concluding this attempt to explain a very difficult subject we shall do well to endeavour to realise the circumstances in which the disciples heard the last words of Christ:—neither time nor place being suitable for an exact record of them.

We are too apt, perhaps, to assume that whatever was said by our Lord on the night of the Eucharist was a connected utterance, whereas it was, in part, a series of conversations, either at the supper table or in the supper chamber, with separate disciples. No doubt, what was said to one was in most cases heard by all. But this may not have been always the case (**1431***). According to the Fourth Gospel, there were whisperings or private conversations between Peter and the beloved disciple, between the latter and Jesus; and the Synoptists describe the disciples as questioning among one another. There may have been, in fact, a great deal of such questioning. On this point the testimony of the Fourth Gospel is important and antecedently probable. After the words "Arise, let us be going hence" —when Jesus presumably left the chamber—the Johannine discourse becomes connected: but before that, much of it is addressed to Peter, Philip, Thomas, and "Judas not Iscariot." John expressly says that the disciples did not understand what was said to Judas Iscariot, and that they were warned by Jesus that they could not understand His other sayings until the Paraclete came to teach them their meaning. After that night, the disciples never had speech with Him except as the risen Saviour—through what precise means of communication, how far through voice, how far through sight, and how far through the Spirit informing this or that disciple, we do not know. Those at least who regard Christ's resurrection as

spiritual, and the manifestations of it as occurring at intervals, will infer that although the disciples still received from Him revelations of deep truths, and influences of unspeakable blessing, they no longer possessed the old familiar opportunities of asking Him about the meaning of His words, and especially about that short sentence with which He delivered to them the Eucharistic bread[1].

[1] [1358*a*] The remarks (1321–5) on the hypothesis of an Aramaic הא, conflated by Mark, were written in ignorance of the following facts. The Jewish Passover Service begins with the words (ed. Landshuth, Berlin, Adolf & Co., undated, p. 7) "*This* [*is*] (הא) the bread of affliction, which our fathers ate in the land of Egypt. Everyone that is hungry let him come and eat. Everyone that is in need let him come and keep Passover. This year, here; the year to come, in the land of Israel. This year, servants; the year to come, sons of freedom." It is generally believed that this Service was composed after the destruction of the Temple: but the phrase "*This* [*is*] *the bread of affliction*" (Deut. xvi. 3) must have been in existence very early indeed, as the Gemara (*Pesachim* 115–6) contains three different explanations of it.

[1358*b*] Another version of the same Service (Spiers, London, 1897) has, "*This* [*is*] *like* (-כ) the bread of affliction." I am informed by Mr E. N. Adler that the old English translations have "*Lo*, *this* [is] the bread of affliction," conflating two meanings of הא. A version published in Jerusalem (printed by J. B. Frumkin, 5662) has "*as*" in English, but not -כ in Hebrew, and it conflates הא thus, "*Lo! this* [is] as the bread of affliction." These facts favour the hypothesis that Mark xiv. 22 ("*Take, this*") has conflated two meanings of הא.

[1358*c*] In 1 S. xxx. 26 "Behold (הנה) (Targ. הא) for you a present," LXX om. "for you a present" (A ins.).

CHAPTER VIII

MENTIONS OF PARADOSIS AT THE ARREST

§ 1. *General confusion of the narrative at this point*

[**1359**] No attempt was made in the last chapter to explain any of the Synoptic divergences except such as bore upon the question of Paradosis. But, in approaching the last mentions, or predictions, of "delivering up," where the divergences in the context are more surprising and perplexing than ever, it may be well to indicate that, at this point in the Gospel history, Greek corruption (as well as Hebrew) seems to have been at work.

Take, for example, the remarkable differences about the "questioning" among the disciples as to who was to be the traitor. Mark and Matthew say that they questioned Jesus; Luke, that they questioned among one another; John represents Peter as saying to John, "Say [to the Lord] *Who is it?*—about whom he speaketh[1]."

[**1360**] Under ordinary circumstances we might reconcile these accounts by saying that these three things all happened. But other divergences (for example, the apparent absence of

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[1] [**1359** *a*] Mk xiv. 19, Mt. xxvi. 22, Lk. xxii. 23, Jn xiii. 24. In Jn, the construction combines "Say, 'Who is it about whom *thou speakest*?'" with "Ask who it is about whom *he speaketh*." Compare Jn xx. 18 "bringing word to the disciples that *I have* seen the Lord and [that] he said these things *to her*."

Judas from the Lord's Table in Luke's narrative) are too great to explain by so simple a hypothesis; and the remarkable phrase preserved by John, "Say, '*Who is it?*'" indicates that he is preserving an ancient ambiguous tradition in which ειπον, the illiterate way of writing ειπων (**966** *a*), was interpreted by John imperatively though it was meant participially. Thus, και ελεγεν εις ενι ειπον τις εστιν was intended to mean "And one spoke to another (*i.e.* they spoke to each other) SAYING, *Who is it?*" But it was taken by John to mean "A certain one said to a certain one, 'SAY, *Who is it?*'" This, being particularised by the insertion of the names of two prominent Apostles, resulted in a tradition that "Peter said to John, 'SAY [TO THE LORD], *Who is it?*'" Further, since εις, "one," might be written ις and confused with $\overline{\text{ις}}$, *i.e.* with "Jesus," the same tradition might be conflated in the form "And *Jesus* spake to one, SAYING [TO HIM] *who it was.*"

[**1361**] Another point to be noted is that—apart from the agreement of Mark and Matthew—there is scarcely any exact agreement in the other Evangelists as to the last sayings of Jesus in Gethsemane: and where they do agree they place the sayings in a different position. Thus, Luke agrees substantially with Mark in a saying, "It is enough[1]," but assigns a different occasion; John agrees closely with Mark in a saying, "Arise, let us be going" [John adds "hence"], but places it before the coming to Gethsemane[2]. John represents our Lord as saying to Judas Iscariot at the end of the Eucharistic meal, "What thou doest do quickly"; Matthew, in the course of the meal, has, as Christ's utterance to Judas, "Thou sayest it[3]." These considerations may prepare us to find our Lord's last mention of "delivering up" recorded by Luke as addressed to Judas Iscariot at the moment of the arrest, in a saying that is parallel to nothing in Mark and to something

[1] Mk xiv. 41 *ἀπέχει*, Lk. xxii. 38 *ἱκανόν ἐστιν*.
[2] Jn xiv. 31, Mk xiv. 42 (Mt. xxvi. 46).
[3] Jn xiii. 27, Mt. xxvi. 25.

quite different in Matthew. It will be convenient to discuss this together with the last mention of "delivering up" in Mark and Matthew, which occurs a little earlier (when Judas is on the point of arriving).

§ 2. *Divergent mentions of Paradosis*

[**1362**] In Mark and Matthew, the last mention of Paradosis comes just before the arrival of Judas:

Mk xiv. 41–3	Mt. xxvi. 45–6	Lk. xxii. 47
"'Behold, the Son of man is [*being*] *delivered up* into the hands of sinners. Arise, let us be going. Behold, *he that is delivering me up* is at hand.' And straightway while he was yet speaking..."	"'Behold,...and the Son of man *is* [*being*] *delivered up* into the hands of sinners. Arise, let us be going. Behold, there is at hand *he that is delivering me up.*' And while he was yet speaking..."	"While he was yet speaking...[1]"

[**1363**] In Luke, the last mention of Paradosis comes just after the arrival of Judas:

Mk xiv. 45 (lit.)	Mt. xxvi. 49 (lit.)	Lk. xxii. 47–8—
"And having come, straightway having come to him he saith, 'Rabbi,' and kissed him. And they laid hands...."	"And straightway having come to Jesus he said, 'Hail, Rabbi,' and kissed him. But Jesus said to him, 'Companion, that for which thou art come—.'"	"...and he drew near unto Jesus to kiss him. But Jesus said to him, 'Judas, with a kiss *art thou delivering up* the Son of man?'"

[1] The words preceding this are (Lk. xxii. 46) "Why sleep ye? Stand up and pray that ye enter not into temptation."

[**1364**] Of these two mentions of Paradosis, Luke's may be conveniently discussed first; for it appears capable of a brief explanation based upon a parallel portion of Mark and Matthew—describing how Judas and the multitude accompanying him came "with swords and staves," and how he had given a "token," or "sign," saying, "Whomsoever I kiss, he is [the man]. Seize him and lead him away safely." John mentions no "kiss," and no "sign" or "token," but says that Judas, "having received the *cohort*[1]," came to the place in question.

[**1365**] The facts indicate that the "token" (Mk) or "sign" (Mt.) of the "kiss," agreed on between Judas and the soldiers—and which Judas might be said to have "received" from them—has been read by John as *σημαια* (instead of *σημειῑ*) and taken in the sense of "cohort" which *σημαία* often has[2]; so that John thought that Judas "received the cohort." On the other hand, the root נשק, besides meaning "*kiss*," means also "*take fast hold of*," and is so translated by the LXX where R.V. txt. has "*kiss* the Son[3]." This explains Mark's conflation "*seize*," "lead away *safely*" (i.e. *safely bound*).

[**1366**] The Hebrew original of Mark's diffuse conflation may have been somewhat to this effect, "He drew near to

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[1] Jn xviii. 3.

[2] [**1365** *a*] Jn xviii. 3 *λαβὼν τὴν σπεῖραν*, and comp. Steph. *Thes.* "Suidas ait idem esse *σημαίαν, σπεῖραν,...*" Theoretically, this error might also arise from confusing the Hebraized form of *σύσσημον* (Krauss, 390 *b*, סיסמא, "verabredetes Zeichen") with the Hebraized form of *σημαία*, סימא (Krauss, 383 *b*, *σημαῖα* (*sic*), "Kriegeszeichen, Fahne"). But Krauss gives no instance of their confusion; whereas we find an instance of apposite confusion in Numb. ii. 2 "ensigns," *σημείας* (B* *σημιας*, B^{b} A *σημεας*, B^{a} F *σημαιας*). Comp. Is. xxx. 17 "an ensign," *σημαίαν φέρων* (no v. r.). *Σημαία* (Steph. *Thes.*) = "standard" as well as "cohort."

[**1365** *b*] Mark's word "token," *σύσσημον*, is condemned by Phrynichus (Lobeck p. 418, Ruth. p. 493): but it is regularly used by Aquila for נס, "standard," *e.g.* Is. xi. 10, LXX *ἄρχειν*.

[3] [**1365** *c*] Ps. ii. 12, LXX *δράξασθε* (*παιδείας*).

Jesus to kiss Him. Now he [had] said to them, 'He whom I kiss is He' (or, 'A kiss is the sign' &c.)." This, in Hebrew, would contain in the first place *the ambiguity that frequently arises from the absence of a Hebrew Pluperfect* (**241** *a*, **1068** *b*), which tense Mark alone, in a clause of his conflated version, has preserved ("Now he *had given* (δεδώκει)[1] them a sign"). But there is a second ambiguity, namely, as to the person speaking. For who is it that "[had] said"? In order to make this clear, Mark adds "*he that was delivering him up* (ὁ παραδιδοὺς αὐτόν)." But others might add "*Judas*." If these two were conflated, in Greek, we should have εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδοὺς..., that is, literally, "Now [he] [had] said to them [namely] Judas, he that was delivering up...."

[**1367**] At this point a new interpretation might intervene, taking "[had] said" in its usual sense as meaning "said," and referring it to Jesus, as being the person last mentioned. A historian like Luke—compiling largely from documents, and these in many cases written by illiterate scribes—would be quite prepared to expect the use of o for ω so common in the Oxyrrhynchan Papyri (**966** *a*), and hence, if the facts indicated that Jesus was the speaker, he would read ΑΥΤΟΙC "*to them*" as ΑΥΤΩΙC̄, i.e. "*Jesus to him*." Then the sentence becomes εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦς, "But Jesus said to him," followed by some words about "*Judas*" and "*delivering up*" and "a *kiss*" (or "*sign*"). These might be naturally expressed as in Luke's tradition: "But Jesus said to him, 'Judas, Art thou *delivering up* the Son of man with a kiss?'"

We conclude that this last mention of Paradosis assigned to our Lord by Luke is not historical, but the result of a misunderstanding—very natural in the general confusion of the text.

[1] Mt. xxvi. 48 has the Aorist, ἔδωκεν, "he *gave*."

§ 3. Mk xiv. 41 (Mt. xxvi. 45) "*Delivered up into the hands of sinners*"

[1368] Returning to the prediction, or mention, of Paradosis in Mark and Matthew (**1362**), we find in it this especially noteworthy point, that here, for the first and only time in Mark, "delivering up" is connected with "sinners." Who are these "*sinners*"? The regular application of the term by the Jews to Gentiles, and St Paul's phrase, "we, by birth Jews, and not *sinners* of the Gentiles[1]," suggest that the word means "Gentiles" here also. But what Gentiles? The Roman soldiers? There is no mention of Romans, or Roman soldiers, in any of the Synoptic Gospels, at this point: they do not appear till later on.

[1369] Was it on this account that Luke omitted the words? If so, John, although he does not use the phrase, removes the above-mentioned difficulty; for he represents the Gentiles, or "sinners," as being actually present in the form of a "cohort."

[1370] But we have shewn above (**1365**) that there is reason for supposing the "*cohort*" to be an erroneous interpretation of "*sign*." And, even if a "cohort" were actually approaching, are we to regard it as antecedently probable that in what may almost be described as our Lord's last utterance to His disciples, He laid stress on the indignity of being delivered into "*foreign hands*"—calling them, after the manner of the Scribes and Pharisees, "the hands of *sinners*"? It is true that in one passage of Luke's version of the Sermon on the Mount our Lord apparently uses the term in the Jewish sense. But the parallel Matthew varies. And Luke's context, like that of the above quoted (**1368**) passage from the Epistle to the Galatians, might explain the

[1] Gal. ii. 15. "Not without a shade of irony," says Lightfoot. We should probably be right in adding "and a very deep 'shade.'"

exceptional usage[1]. No such explanation is available here; and it is probable that "sinners" means "transgressors" in general.

In that case, however, though the word "sinners" is correct, it is probable that the phrase "*into the hands of*" is incorrect. It has been shewn above that the Hebrew preposition ל "*to*," used in Isaiah with this very verb, "*deliver up*," means "*for*," i.e. "*for the sake of*," but was rendered by Justin Martyr by the Greek dative (**1162**). Justin meant "*for*": but others might mean "*to*," and might express "*to*"

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[1] [**1370** *a*] Compare:—

Mt. v. 46–7	Lk. vi. 32–3
"Do not also the *publicans*... Do not also the *heathen* (ἐθνικοί)...?"	"For also the *sinners*... Even the *sinners*...."

If Luke is right, our Lord may have meant, as St Paul certainly meant: "Even those *whom you call sinners* are righteous up to a certain point. Your righteousness ought to go further."

[**1370** *b*] But there seems to have been early confusion as to the text. Justin, 1 *Apol.* 15 καὶ γὰρ οἱ πόρνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, appears to be quoting from Luke (not from Matthew's interrogative version). *Didach.* i. 3 quotes from Matthew, οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη; No doubt, πόρνοι may be simply a Gk corruption of ποηροι (*i.e.* πονηροί), the two being interchanged in Is. xlvii. 10 (v. r.), Jer. xiii. 27 (v. r.), Sir. xli. 17 (v. r.). But why should Justin's authority have substituted the comparatively rare πονηροί for Luke's frequently used ἁμαρτωλοί?

[**1370** *c*] Delitzsch in Mt. v. 47 reads "publicans." In Mt. vi. 7 he gives, for "heathen," גוים. This might easily be confused with גרים from גור, a word that in Bibl. Heb. means "sojourn," but in New Heb. and Aram. means also (Levy) "buhlen, ehebrechen" (Justin, πόρνοι). Comp. Zeph. ii. 5 "*nation* (גוי)," LXX "*sojourners*." Could this have been confused with (Levy, *Ch.* i. 122 *b*) גבויין, "tax-gatherers"? The tradition "a *heathen* man and a *publican*" is peculiar to Matthew (xviii. 17) and perhaps might be a conflation. In Mt. vi. 7, "make no vain repetition as the *heathen*"—again peculiar to Matthew—B has "*hypocrites*," Syr. (Burk.) has "*respecters of persons*," SS has חנפא—which may mean either "*heathen*," or "*apostate*" (? a dissembler of one's faith) or "*hypocrite*"—Palest. Lect. has "sons of the Mînîm," i.e. *heretics*.

On the whole the evidence indicates that Lk.'s simple, familiar, and unmistakeable word, "*sinners*," was *not* the original one.

definitely by the phrase "*into the hands of*." Some such error may easily have happened here.

[1371] This view of the meaning of "*sinners*"—namely, that the word means "transgressors" in general—is confirmed by the fact that in Mark—whose tradition we are now considering—the only other mention of "*sinners*" made by Christ is not of a technical character but of a universal meaning, "I came not to call the righteous but *sinners*[1]." Here the antithesis makes it plain that no distinction between Jews and Gentiles is contemplated. Consistently with this use and with His constant thoughtfulness and compassion for those whom—in Mark again—He is described as pitying because they were "as sheep without a shepherd," it is probable, antecedently, as well as textually, that our Lord meant here that His "delivering up" was for those whom He "came to call"—"The Son of man is delivered up *for* sinners." If He said "*into the hands of* sinners," the words, so far as we can see, conveyed no information to the disciples that they would not have received from their own eyes a few moments afterwards, and impressed on their recollection no feelings but those of regret for what seemed an unworthy and pathetic fate. Supposing those words to have been uttered we might perhaps explain them as intended to work "godly sorrow" by their pathos: but we could hardly find in them a strengthening influence. On the other hand, if He said, "*for the sake of* sinners," then we can well believe that the words were intended to sow a seed of faith in the hearts of the disciples—a seed that died for "two days" and then sprang up to life eternal, by preparing them to receive the manifestations of the risen Saviour[2].

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[1] [1371 *a*] Mk ii. 17 *ἁμαρτωλούς*. Ἁμαρτωλός (apart from xiv. 41) is only used elsewhere by Mk in viii. 38, "this adulterous and sinful generation."

[2] [1371 *b*] John, perhaps being aware of the ambiguous nature of the word "sinners," never once uses the word in the whole of his Gospel

§ 4. "*Let us be going* (ἄγωμεν)"

[1372] Considering the very frequent use of ἄγε ("Go to," or "Come") in many periods of Greek literature, it is remarkable that only one instance of ἄγωμεν, "let us be going," is alleged from any source but N.T. The single instance is in Epictetus. The philosopher is satirising an inconsistent Stoic, who, instead of taking a cudgelling quietly and loving the cudgeller, appeals to Caesar and wishes to bring his assailant before the Proconsul: "O Caesar, what a monstrous outrage am I enduring to the breaking of the Emperor's peace! *Let us go* (ἄγωμεν) to the proconsul[1]." Epictetus flourished about ten years before the end of the first century. He must have been more familiar than most philosophers of his day with Christianity—the religion, largely, of slaves—having been a slave himself. He once speaks of the Christians as "Galilaeans." These facts, and the uniqueness of the phrase, constitute a *prima facie* case for supposing that the philosopher may be alluding here to some tradition that he may have heard concerning the last words uttered by the Leader of the Galilaeans before His arrest.

[1373] To Epictetus we shall presently return. But why does Luke omit the words in question? Is it because they were supposed by some to mean, "Let us go hence *in flight*," and because Luke, while confident that this was false, did not know what was the true meaning or the exact occasion of the utterance? In any case, Luke's omission prepares us[2]

except in (ix. 16, 24, 25, 31) the dialogue of the Pharisees and the man born blind, whom the alleged "*sinner*" had healed! But we may perhaps detect an allusion to the popular Jewish use of the word in the answer of Jesus to Pilate (Jn xix. 11) "He that delivered me up to thee *hath the greater sin*." According to Jewish canons, Caiaphas was the High Priest of God, Pilate a "*sinner*." According to this Johannine Logion, Caiaphas was the greater "*sinner*" of the two. The same view is expressed in the words (Jn ix. 41) "If ye were blind ye would have no sin. But now ye say 'We see': therefore *your sin abideth*."

[1] Epict. iii. 22. 55.

[2] See Preface, p. ix.

to find them, or some equivalent, inserted in John. And it is as follows (Jn xiv. 30–1) "No longer shall I speak much with you. For there cometh '*the Prince of the World.*' *And in me he hath nothing* [i.e. *has no basis for accusation*[1]]: but, in order that the world may know that I love the Father, and even as the Father gave me commandment, thus I do. *Arise, let us be going hence.*" Here is a phrase similar to the one mentioned in Epictetus. And it is uttered, as in Epictetus, with reference to an assailant, namely, the Prince of this World, the Devil, *i.e.* the False Accuser. Against this enemy the Son says "*Let us be going hence*"—but not to a "proconsul." It is to the Father's work that the Son goes forth, to the task imposed on Himself by the Son out of His love for the Father: "I love the Father, and even as the Father gave me commandment, thus I do. Arise, let us be going hence."

[1374] Now this is precisely the spirit in which Epictetus himself says that the ideal Cynic or Stoic ought to make his appeal, not to any ruler or human being but to God alone: "What is 'Caesar' to the true Cynic? What is a 'proconsul'? What is anyone—*save only He who hath sent him down to earth and whom alone he serves, namely, Zeus? Is he to make his appeal to any other?* Is he not convinced that whatever outrage of this kind he may be suffering, Zeus is herein training him [to virtue][2]?"

[1375] If therefore Epictetus is indeed alluding to Christ's words it would appear that he is not ridiculing but admiring them, and urging his pupils to imitate the despised Galilaean in this respect. He certainly does this elsewhere in the course of some remarks on fearlessness, where, after referring to the fearlessness of children and madmen in the presence of a Tyrant's spearmen and swordsmen, he says, "And can it be that one is able thus to face these bugbears in the

[1] The Prince of this World, or *diabolos*, is the False Accuser.

[2] Epict. iii. 22. 56.

strength of madness—*and the Galilaeans* [*face them*] *in the strength of* [*mere*] *habit*—and yet, in the strength of reason and demonstration no one is able to learn[1]...?" This, which is the philosopher's only allusion to "the Galilaeans," indicates that he would have recognized in their leader a conspicuous fearlessness in the moment when the "swords and staves" of the Jews were seen approaching, and that he would not have interpreted the phrase "Let us *be going*" as though it meant "Let us *flee*."

[**1376**] Indeed, even in the mouth of Epictetus' pusillanimous Stoic, the word ἄγωμεν does not mean "let us *flee*," but "let us go *forward* to the court of appeal." A similar meaning must be given to the only instance of it in Mark, "Let us *be going* elsewhere to the neighbouring towns that I may preach there also: for *to this end did I come forth*[2]," i.e. "let us be going *to the appointed work*." In John, it is twice used by Jesus resolving to incur danger for the sake of Lazarus, and once by Thomas proposing to share the danger[3]. It may be added that Chrysostom, in his commentary on the words "*Let us be going*" &c., says that Jesus thereby trained the disciples to perceive that His capture was not a matter of constraint or human weakness but of divine appointment: "for He both foresaw its coming and not only did not flee but *went to meet it*[4]."

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[1] Epict. iv. 7. 6. This is the only mention of "Galilaeans" in Schweighäuser's Index.

[2] Mk i. 38. The parall. Lk. iv. 43 has "I must preach also to the other cities...*for therefore was I sent*."

[3] [**1376** *a*] Jn xi. 7, 15, 16. Similarly the Heb. נלכה (given by Delitzsch as equiv. of ἄγωμεν) (23 in O.T.) always, in the Bible, means "let us go on an errand," "continue our journey," "walk" &c. (never "depart" in the sense of "fleeing") except once (reflexively) 1 S. xxvi. 11 "Let us go *to* (or, *for*) *ourselves*," i.e. "let us go away."

[4] [**1376** *b*] Chrys. *Comm. Matth.* Field, vol. ii. p. 476. Orig. *Cels.* ii. 10 records a charge that Jesus "hid himself" and "tried to run away." This, in the face of Greek usage, can hardly be a misinterpretation of ἄγωμεν. Perhaps it is based on the retirement by night to Gethsemane.

[**1377**] Lastly we have Jewish evidence as to the use of ἄγωμεν, in Hebrew letters, meaning "*let us go*," not in the sense of flight, but in the sense of resort to a superior power. The fox volunteers to go on a deputation to appease the enraged lion. The other beasts, accepting his offer, say, "*Agōmen*," i.e. "*Let us go* [before his Majesty][1]."

On the whole, we are abundantly justified in rendering ἄγωμεν by a paraphrase similar to that of Chrysostom, "Let us go to meet it," *i.e.* the impending duty. And this interpretation must necessarily have a bearing on the interpretation of the following words, which will now be discussed.

§ 5. (Mk xiv. 42, Mt. xxvi. 46) "*He that delivereth me up hath drawn near*"

[**1378**] The ancient editors responsible for our present texts of what we call "Mark" and "Matthew" appear to have taken the words placed at the head of this section to refer to the approaching Judas, whom they describe a little later as "he that delivered him up[2]." But the following facts indicate that such a reference, in the Hebrew Original and perhaps, too, in the earliest Greek traditions, is in the highest degree improbable.

[**1379**] To begin with internal and textual criticism, the perfect of the Greek verb "be (or, draw) near" (literally "hath drawn near") which occurs here, and in twelve other instances in N.T., *is never applied to the approach of a person, but always to the Kingdom of God, the Day of the Lord, the Presence of the Lord* &c. The same rule applies to the use of the perfect in LXX ; and it is invariable so far as concerns the negative part, *the exclusion of a person*[3]. In O.T., the

[1] Levy i. 21 *b*, אגומין, quoting *Genes. r. s.* 78, 76 *d*.

[2] Mk xiv. 44, Mt. xxvi. 48 ὁ (δὲ) παραδιδοὺς αὐτόν.

[3] [**1379** *a*] In Deut. xxxi. 14, it refers to the appointed day of the death of Moses, but in Is. lvi. 1 to "salvation": elsewhere to "the day"

same Hebrew is sometimes rendered by the Greek adverb "*near*," and sometimes by the verb "*be* (or, *draw*) *near*[1]." Hence it may be inferred that the Original did not refer to the approach of Judas, but to the visitation of God. If so, it would harmonize with, and confirm, the view suggested above (**1349–50**), that "The hand of him that *delivereth me up*" (mentioned by Jesus as being "with" Him at the Eucharist) referred similarly to the hand of God.

[**1380**] Another reason for taking this view is, that it is in harmony with the context to suppose that an utterance of our Lord at this point—after He had been *calling upon* the Father in prayer, and when He was now on the point of delivering Himself up to His captors in conformity to the will of the Father—would be in accordance with the Hebrew tradition, "the Lord is *near* unto all them that *call upon* Him[2]." And if, as has been shewn above (**1372–6**), the preceding words, "*Let us go*," mean "Let us go forward to do the will of the Father," it is consonant with that interpretation that He should say immediately afterwards, in effect, "For the Father is *near*."

[**1381**] The beautiful Hebrew and Jewish belief in the "*nearness*" of the Lord is somewhat merged, among some Christians, in the belief about the nearness of His "coming," to which Barnabas appears to refer when he says, "*Near* is the Lord and His reward[3]." But it is not so in Clement of Rome when he reminds the Corinthians "how *near*" the Lord is, in searching the thoughts of the heart[4]. Hermas

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&c., as ordained by God, but sometimes as a day of judgment, or retribution. Jer. li. 9 is obscure, but apparently not exceptional.

[1] [**1379** *b*] Tromm. gives קרוב = *ἐγγίζω* (24), *ἐγγύς* (33).

[2] Ps. cxlv. 18. Comp. Ps. xxxiv. 18 "The Lord is *near* to them that are of a broken heart," Ps. cxix. 151 "Thou art *near*, O Lord, and all thy commandments are truth."

[3] Barn. § 21. 3.

[4] Clem. Rom. § 21, quoting Prov. xx. 27.

also quotes, as from "Eldad and Modad," a saying that "The Lord is *near* unto them that turn unto Him[1]." Nor is it probable that St Paul, telling the Philippians that "the Lord is *near*" and that they are "to be anxious in nothing," could limit himself to the meaning that the "coming" of the Lord would take place a few months or years hence[2]. He probably included the Psalmist's meaning, namely, that the Lord is "a very present help in trouble." In another passage where he is quoting Isaiah, St Paul says—while inculcating fearlessness—"*God* is he that justifieth; who is he that condemneth?" The Hebrew has "*Near* is he that justifieth[3]"; and this shews both how a Jew would regard God as "the Present Helper," "the Near," and also how the thought might be paraphrased away in Greek, except in passages expressing a literal nearness of place or a nearness of the time of coming.

[**1382**] Again, the thought of the Son of man as being "at the right hand of God" is declared by the Synoptists themselves to have been in Christ's mind, not only as a prediction of the Psalmist's on which He questions the Pharisees[4], but also as a saying that was to *be immediately fulfilled*: "From the present time the Son of man shall be *on the right hand of the Power*[5]." Now if we believe that Jesus really uttered these words (as can hardly be doubted in view of their extreme difficulty), then even those who disbelieve in His resurrection must

[1] Herm. *Vis.* ii. 3. 4.

[2] [1381 *a*] Philipp. iv. 5—6. Comp. Acts xvii. 27–8. The Pauline view of the "*nearness*" of God takes its most frequent shape in the doctrine that our bodies are the temples of the Holy Spirit, and that Christ dwells in us, or we in Christ.

[3] [1381 *b*] Rom. viii. 33 printed by W.H. as from Is. l. 8. They indicate no doubt of its being a quotation, and there appears to be no doubt (*pace* Fritzsche *ad loc.*).

[4] Ps. cx. 1 "Sit thou at my right hand &c." quoted in Mk xii. 36–7, Mt. xxii. 44–5, Lk. xx. 42–4.

[5] [1382 *a*] Lk. xxii. 69 "shall *be*" = Mk xiv. 62, Mt. xxvi. 64 "ye shall *see*." Perh. חיה, "be," was confused with חזה, "see." Comp. Job viii. 17 "*sees*," LXX "shall *live*," where LXX has confused חזה with חיה.

surely be convinced that He Himself confidently anticipated it, according to the words of the Psalmist, "I have set the Lord always before me: because he is *at my right hand* I shall not be moved...for thou wilt not leave my soul in Sheol[1]"—words quoted, or referred to, by Peter and by Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, and applied to Christ by both.

[**1383**] Lastly, some hypothesis of the kind here advocated would explain the coincidence, at this point, of certain traditions—which cannot be in all cases accepted as exactly historical, and yet, we may feel sure, are not dishonest inventions—traditions of cheerful, hopeful, and encouraging utterances of our Lord a few moments after, or before, He was arrested. Matthew, for example, represents Jesus as saying that the Father could give Him, if He asked, "twelve legions of angels[2]." John declares that, after predicting the scattering of the Twelve, Jesus added that they would leave Him alone, "And yet I am not alone because *the Father is with me*[3]." Almost in the same sentence Jesus adds that He has spoken these things that the disciples may "*have peace*" because He has "overcome the world[4]"—the last words uttered to the disciples by Jesus in the flesh. Similarly helpful and hopeful are the last words of the Johannine Prayer to the Father: "I in them and thou in me, that they may be *perfected* into one...that the love wherewith thou lovedst me may be in them, and I in them[5]."

[**1384**] Is all this a fiction or misunderstanding? Is it a mere dishonest, or deceived, optimism that makes the Fourth Gospel—when describing Christ's last night—thus ring the changes on *oneness* with, or inclusion in, the Father, on "being *perfected*" and on "*peace*"—not here alone, but above,

[1] Ps. xvi. 8—10 quoted in Acts ii. 25–7 and (in part) in Acts xiii. 35. The distinction between "on the right hand of the Power" and "the Lord on my right hand" does not seem an essential one.

[2] Mt. xxvi. 53.

[3] Jn xvi. 32.

[4] Jn xvi. 33.

[5] Jn xvii. 23–6.

"*Peace* I leave with you, my *peace* I give unto you[1]"? Is it a mere coincidence that the Aramaic "*deliver up*"—the very last word uttered by Christ before the coming of Judas, in Matthew, and the last but one in Mark—is a word that in various forms may mean "*peace*," its most common meaning, and also "*perfect*," a frequent meaning[2]? that "he that delivers up," according to Pauline interpretation, would mean the Father? that the phrase "let us be going," according to any

[1] Jn xiv. 27.

[2] [1384 *a*] It is interesting to note that the Aramaic meaning of שלם, "*deliver up*," has influenced the LXX in its rendering of Is. xxxviii. 12—13 (R.V.) (*bis*) "*make an end of* me," Aq. Sym. Theod. ἐπλήρωσέ με, but LXX, "I was *delivered up*," παρεδόθην. This passage is referred to by Driver and Neubauer (p. 3, n.) as one of several instances proving that "It is no uncommon occurrence for LXX to interpret a Hebrew word in accordance with the signification borne by a word externally resembling it in the Aramaic dialect spoken at the time when the translation was made." This must be constantly kept in mind in endeavouring to go back from the composite works that we call "Mark," "Matthew," and "Luke," to the Greek, Aramaic, or Hebrew originals, from which they appear to have been derived, and from these to pass up still further to the original Aramaic uttered by Jesus Himself.

[1384 *b*] For example "*carpenter* (נגר) [*and*] *son of a carpenter*" (comp. Mk vi. 3 "Is not this *the carpenter*," Mt. xiii. 55 "*the son of the carpenter*," omitted by Lk. and Jn, who nowhere use the word "*carpenter*") is shewn by Levy (iii. 338 *b*) to be a regular phrase for a great "*teacher*" (as we might say "*artist and true-born artist*"). But the Biblical Hebrew for "*carpenter*" is חרש; and this (since it also means "dumb," Levy ii. 119 *a*) is also applied to any Rabbi so eminent as to *strike others dumb with astonishment*. Again (Levy, *Ch.* ii. 91 *b*) נגר is interchanged with forms of אומן "artist," a word that might be confused with Aram. אימא "mother," or אומא "people," or אמנה (Esth. ii. 20) "bringing up" (*i.e.* rearing). The word אמון "artist" is actually confused in Prov. viii. 30 "master-workman," ἁρμόζουσα, Aq. τιθηνουμένη (and comp. Jer. lii. 15 "*multitude* (אמון)," marg. "*artificers*"). Thus, this single Aramaic word, נגר, appears not only to have been misunderstood literally by Mk and Mt. (not by Lk. and Jn) but also to have caused in Mk-Mt. conflations about Christ's "*mother*"—and perhaps "brethren" and "sisters" (if "people" was thus erroneously interpreted)—and about those who heard Jesus being "*struck with astonishment* (Mk-Mt. ἐκπλήσσεσθαι)."

scholarly interpretation, must be intended to mean "let us go *forward*" and not "let us go *backward*"? and that the phrase about "*nearness*" could not, in accordance with precedent, apply to Judas, but must apply to the appointed time, or hand, or salvation, of God? If all these, instead of being mere casual coincidences, are indications that Mark has taken a completely erroneous view of Christ's last words in Gethsemane, in that case they may help us to a better appreciation of the historical as well as the spiritual value of the long Johannine discourses that are parallel to half a dozen sentences in Mark and Matthew, and to a blank in Luke.

[**1385**] Let us endeavour to put ourselves in the position of an Evangelist like the author of the Fourth Gospel, writing at the beginning of the second century, who knew that what might practically be called the last words of Jesus to the disciples in Gethsemane were these: "Let us go forward, behold, he that delivereth me up is *near*," meaning *God*. Let us suppose him also to have known that these words were interpreted in two authoritative Gospels as meaning "*Judas*," while a third wholly omitted them[1]. Would not such an Evangelist feel bound to explain, and probably at some length and in different forms, that this "*delivering up*" was not regarded by Jesus as a mere act of treachery but much more as the act of the Father, who, even when delivering up the Son, was still "*near*" to Him?

[**1386**] The Epistle to the Ephesians, which twice tells us that Christ "*gave himself up*[2]" for us, or for the Church, that He might make the Church "without blemish," reiterates also that He, through the Cross, made us "*near*" in His blood, and made us "*one*" with the commonwealth of Israel[3]. But it especially emphasizes the "*peace*" made by Christ, "who is

[1] Luke stops short at the words (xxii. 46) "that ye may not enter into temptation," having nothing parallel to Mk xiv. 39—42, Mt. xxvi. 42–6.

[2] Eph. v. 2, 25. [3] *Ib.* ii. 13, 14.

our *peace*," giving us "access" to God, and also making "*peace*" for, and between, those who are "near" and those who are "far off[1]." Similarly, any Evangelist, pondering on the many meanings that might be elicited from the slightest possible modifications of the phrase "Near is he that delivereth me up"—all of them true and each of them an antidote to the received interpretation "he that betrayeth me is at hand"—might naturally amplify the Logia so as to include the promises of "*nearness*," or "*oneness*," of "*peace*," and of "*perfection*." This John does. The "going" to the Father, and the "way," are repeatedly mentioned so as to shew that the going is spontaneous and the way is spiritual[2]. The nearness—or, as it is called in the Fourth Gospel, oneness—is expressed as a spiritual one by saying that the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father: and, as the Son is able to go on the Father's errand while still being "one" with Him, so the disciples are to be "one" with the Son and in the Father. In this unity the whole Church is to attain "*peace*" and "*perfection*[3]."

[**1387**] Granted that such an Evangelist, writing at the beginning of the second century—and unable (at that long distance from the facts) to distinguish exactly the record of what the Lord said from the record of what Apostles added as comment—threw the whole of his material into the shape of a long continuous discourse and prayer of the Lord, utterly, and indeed deliberately, differing in style and expression from anything in the older Gospels: yet can we say that he was essentially further from the historical fact than his predecessors—if they were wrong, while he was right, in the recognition of the *thought* that filled the mind of the Saviour at the moment when Judas was approaching? The two earlier Gospels lead

[1] Eph. ii. 14–8.

[2] Jn xiv. 28, xvi. 28 "I go to the Father," Jn xiv. 4 "the way ye know" (comp. xiv. 5, 6).

[3] Jn. xvii. 22–3 "That they may be *one*...*perfected* into *one*."

us to suppose that our Lord's words meant "Let us go, behold, *the traitor has drawn near.*" The Fourth Gospel, even if it be verbally of the nature of a Targum—and written by someone who may never have seen Christ in the flesh—yet, being the work of one who had "the mind of Christ," and who received traditions that originated from a "beloved disciple," may weightily confirm the interpretation that puts on the ancient words an entirely different meaning, independently indicated by textual investigations: "Let us go forward to do the Father's will. *It is the Father who is delivering me up to be a sacrifice for men. He is near. He is 'at my right hand*[1]*.'*"

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[1] [1387 *a*] Ps. xvi. 8 "Because he is at my right hand I shall not be moved.... For thou wilt not leave my soul in Sheol, neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption" (1382). Compare the mentions of "delivering up" in the following extracts from (1) an Alexandrine Liturgy that claims (Procter, *Common Prayer*, pp. 305–7) to represent the use of the 2nd century, "Filius tuus manifestatus fuit a Spiritu Sancto ut impleret voluntatem tuam et populum tibi efficeret expandendo manus suas; passus est ut patientes liberaret qui confidunt in te. Qui *traditus est voluntate sua* ad passionem...," (2) the Liturgy of St James (*ib.* pp. 307–9) *ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδοτο, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτὸν παρεδίδου, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας.* Compare also the following (Renaudot, *Liturgiae Orientales*, i. 14) "cum *statuisset tradere se* morti," (*ib.* i. 29) "ea nocte in qua *tradi voluisti, voluntate et potestate tua sola*," (*ib.* i. 45) "ea nocte qua *tradidit se ipsum*," (*ib.* i. 66) *μέλλων γὰρ παραδοῦναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς θάνατον*, (*ib.* i. 96) *τῇ γὰρ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδης αὐτὸς σεαυτόν*, (*ib.* i. 139) *τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδου ἑαυτόν*, (*ib.* i. 489) "qui *tradidit se ipsum*...(but also) ea ipsa nocte in qua traditus est...," (*ib.* ii. 31) "cum suscepturus esset mortem *voluntariam*...in ea nocte qua tradendus erat pro vita et salute mundi," (*ib.* ii. 334) "vespere illo quo futurum erat ut pateretur *voluntarie*," (*ib.* ii. 359) "cum paratus esset ad patiendum...ea nocte qua tradebatur pro vita et salute mundi," (*ib.* ii. 372) "eo vespere quo *traditurus erat se ipsum* in sacrificium pro nobis," (Swainson's *Liturgies*, p. 81) *τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδου ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς.*

[1387 *b*] The unity of the Father and the Son may be illustrated by the description of Abraham and Isaac approaching Mount Moriah, where the Scripture significantly repeats the word "*together*," thus: Gen. xxii. 6, 8 "They went both of them *together* (יחדו)...they went both of them

Addendum

§ 6. *Johannine references to past Paradosis*

[**1388**] The two Johannine mentions of Paradosis in words of the Saviour, *after* the "delivering up," lie beyond the scope of this work; but they have some bearing on its subject.

(i) In the first mention, when Pilate says "Thine own nation and the chief priests delivered thee up unto me," the Lord replies "My kingdom is not from this world. If my kingdom were from this world, my officers[1] would be [now] contending [against the officers of the enemy] that I might not be *delivered up* to the Jews."

[**1389**] Taken literally, this appears an impossible utterance. For how could the alleged "king" of any nation speak thus about his own nation? How could, say Charles I, speak about his "officers" as contending "that he might not be delivered up to the *English*"—unless he meant to distinguish the "English" from the Scotch? Taken spiritually, however, and in the third person, it might point to an apostolic statement to the effect that (1) *If the Lord's Kingdom had been from this world, then He too would have had "officers" who would have been at that moment contending with the "officers" of the chief priests that He might never have been delivered up to the Jews. But this could not be, because His Kingdom was*

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together," Onk. (*bis*) "both of them *as one* (כחדא, Walton 'simul')," Jer. I "both of them *as one*...both of them *in heart entirely as one* (בלב שלים כחדא, Walton 'corde integro simul')," Jer. II "both of them *as one* ...both of them *as one with a contrite heart*."

[1] [**1388** *a*] Jn xviii. 36 "Officers," ὑπηρέται, R.V. "servants," but in marg. "*officers*." The word is rendered by R.V. "officers" everywhere else in Jn (vii. 32, 45, 46, xviii. 3, 12, 18, 22, xix. 6) and the sense is greatly obscured here, if not lost, by altering the rendering.

from heaven. In another form, a similar explanation might state that, (2) *If the Paradosis had not been from heaven the Lord could have prayed and there would have come twelve legions of angels, in the place of the twelve Apostles who abandoned Him—but how then could the Scripture be fulfilled?* Some such saying as either of these might, of course, in itself, have been actually uttered by our Lord. But, if so, how can we explain the omission of each by three Evangelists? The facts suggest that both (1) and (2) may have been developed inferentially from the words "He that delivereth me up is near." The former version corresponds to John's Logion quoted here, the latter to Matthew's quoted above (**1383**).

[**1390**] (ii) In Christ's second Johannine mention of Paradosis, the sense is more obscure. It occurs in a reply to Pilate's words "Speakest thou not to *me* (emph.)? Knowest thou not that I have authority to release thee and I have authority to crucify thee?" The reply is, "Thou couldst have no authority against me at all if it had not been given to thee from above. For this cause *he that delivered me* unto thee hath the greater sin[1]." Judas did *not* deliver Jesus to Pilate, so that "he that delivered" must here mean the Chief Priest (commonly called High Priest) regarded as impersonating those described above as "thine own nation and the chief priests[2]."

[**1391**] Then the meaning seems to be that the Paradosis, or "delivering up," of the Messiah for sinners, could not be effected—in accordance with prophecy and the inscrutable decree of God—except by an act of sin, and by the hands of men perpetrating that unjust act in the exercise of "authority," entrusted to them by God for purposes of justice, but perverted by them to injustice. But the grade of the sin varied in proportion with the ignorance of those who

[1] Jn xix. 11, "authority" = ἐξουσία.
[2] Jn xviii. 35.

received this "authority" to execute the divine decree. The Roman soldiers received "authority" from Pilate. They were mere instruments, not judges. Consequently they were pardonable—as is expressed in the beautiful addition to Luke—"They know not what they do." The Roman Governor received "authority" from God, from whom Rome had received "authority" over the civilised world. But, from another point of view, it might be said that Pilate received "authority" from Caiaphas, as the nominal High Priest of the living God, who delivered up Jesus to the arm of Roman Law as a criminal found guilty by the descendants of Abraham ("If this man had not been found doing evil we would not have delivered him up to thee[1]"); and the Roman might be supposed to throw on the seed of Abraham some of the responsibility of the condemnation. Therefore "the greater sin" attached to that High Priest who "delivered up" Jesus to Pilate, receiving indeed "authority" of a kind "from above"—as Satan received from God authority over the flesh of Job—but receiving it with a knowledge (or in conditions that should have conveyed the knowledge) that the right use of the "authority" would have been to acquit the accused, whereas he was misusing his "authority" for the purpose of murdering a righteous man.

[1392] But these interpretations are uncertain. Nor does the passage bear upon our subject except so far as it indicates (taken in conjunction with the earlier one) that the Evangelist had pondered long on the Paradosis of Christ, discerning in it something beyond the mere treachery of an individual, and, in the agents, something more than Judas, Caiaphas, and Pilate. Deeper agencies were at work. The covetousness (if it was covetousness) of the false Apostle, the blindness to righteousness and sensitiveness to expediency in the false High Priest ("it is *expedient* that one man should die[2]"), the

[1] Jn xviii. 30.

[2] Jn xi. 50, xviii. 14.

indifference to truth and justice on the part of the false Judge, all these were fore-ordained manifestations of individual and national sins—failure in the Nation of Religion, failure in the Nation of Law—resulting in the fulfilment of that divine decree which had been foreshadowed in Isaac on the altar but was fulfilled in the Son of man upon the Cross, stretching out His hands for "all the nations of the earth" to "make intercession for transgressors."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

"MANY MANSIONS"

[1393] In Jn xiv. 2 "In my Father's house (*οἰκίᾳ*) are many *μοναί*," the use of the word *μονή*, almost unique in the Greek Bible, is important on many accounts. Steph. *Thes.* indicates that *μονή*, which may be conveniently transliterated as *Moné*, is frequently used with *ἔξοδος* &c. (expressed or implied) to mean "*staying* [*for a time*]," as contrasted with "departing," Plut. *Mor.* p. 1063 D *μονὴ* [*ἐν τῷ βίῳ*] opp. to *ἐξαγωγή*. Hence it came to mean "*lodging-place*," or "*inn*," on a high road, and hence a "*stage*" in a journey. But the only instance in which *Moné* occurs in the LXX, 1 Macc. vii. 38 "Let them fall by the sword...give them not *Moné*," rather conveys the notion of "*permanent* abiding," Syr. (Walt.) "robur et consistentiam." John uses *Moné* (which occurs nowhere else in N.T.) once more in the same chapter (Jn xiv. 23), "We [*i.e.* the Father and the Son] will make our *Moné* with him"—which looks as though he were anxious to bring out the non-local and spiritual meaning of the word: but does he not mean *permanent*, rather than *temporary*, "abiding"?

[1394] Irenaeus, having (v. 33. 4) mentioned Papias as the attester of certain traditions, goes on to record others in the same style, and, among these, one about the "hundred-fold," "sixty-fold," and "thirty-fold" (v. 36. 2) of the Parable of the Sower, as corresponding to "heaven," "paradise," and

"the City"—"each having a *portion* (omnibus divisum esse)" from the Father, according to "*gradation* and *arrangement* (adordinationem et dispositionem)" so that all advance through "*steps* (gradus)." It was on this account, he adds, that the Lord declared "In the [region] of my Father are many *Monae*," ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πατρός μου μονὰς εἶναι πολλάς.

[**1395**] This ancient tradition about the "portion," or "arrangement," of the abodes of the blessed, suggests a comparison with Enoch (xxxix. 4—8), where, after repeated mention of their "dwellings" and "resting-places," Enoch says "My soul longed for that *dwelling-place*: here already had been my *portion*." Now the Hebrew, or Aramaic, for "portion" might be some form of מנה, or מני, "*apportion*." But this, in one of its forms, מנה, is transliterated in LXX (5 times) as μνᾶ. The Greek μνᾶ is familiar to us in Luke's parable of the *pounds*, or *minae*, called by Matthew *talents*, on which see **1397**.

[**1396**] The Hebrew noun מנה (Gesen. 584) occurs in the Bible in three senses: (1) "*portion*," (2) "*mina*," (3) "*counted number*," "*time*." In this last sense it occurs only in Gen. xxxi. 7, 41 "Thou hast changed my wage these ten *times* (מנים)." Here Onk. has the Aramaic word for "*times*" (זמנין), but Jer. has "*portions*." The LXX has xxxi. 7 ἀμνῶν, xxxi. 41 ἀμνάσιν, which latter word it uses for "*piece(s) of money*," קשיטה, in Josh. xxiv. 32, Job xlii. 11[1].

[1] [**1396** *a*] The explanation of the LXX reading in Gen. xxxi. 7, 41 is complicated by the fact that ἀμνάς=mostly (10 times) "lamb" in LXX, and that the Aramaic "lamb," חורפא (Levy, *Ch.* i. 284 *a*), may mean "lamb" or "coin": but probably the LXX first transliterated (Gen. xxxi. 7, 41) מנים as μνῶν, and then it was corrupted into ἀμνῶν and ἀμνάσιν with some confused allusion to Jacob's wages as being "lambs" and "sheep" combined with an allusion to the use of the word as "money." (For other confusions, connected with ἀμνάς, see Field on Job xlii. 11 and Levy, *Ch.* i. 284 *a* on the three explanations of the word קשיטה in Gen. xxxiii. 19 as (1) "ounce," (2) "lamb," (3) "coin.")

[**1396** *b*] Hesychius says "Μονάς. ἀριθμός, ἢ ἓξ μοῖραι τῶν ἑπτάδων.' The editor says that this is obscure, but he does not illustrate it by any

[1397] In Matthew's (xxv. 14—30) Parable of the Talents compared with Luke's (xix. 11—28) Parable of the Minae, many divergences may be explained on the hypothesis that the Original had the Hebrew *mnê*, i.e. "*portion*," or "*mina*," taken by some as "*region*," or "*district*," ככר, which word also means "*talent*," and is easily confused with New Heb. כרך (read as כרכ), i.e. "*city*." If the Original had, "He gave to them *his wealth*, a portion, or *mina*, one to each," Luke may have taken עשר "wealth" as עשר "ten," and may have conflated it with עשה "do business[1]." Perhaps Greek corruption, ι being "ten," may explain the difference between (Mt. xxv. 21) επιπολλω̄ "over *many* things" and επιπολεω̄, "over ten *cities*," a possibly intermediate reading between Matthew and the present Luke, which (Lk. xix. 17) now substitutes *ἐπάνω* for *ἐπί*. If a scribe were to substitute in Hebrew "*talents*" for "*minae*," the former, ככרים, might be rendered (as in 2 K. v. 23 A) *διτάλαντον*, so as to give *τῷ ἑνὶ διτάλαντον*, "two talents a-piece." But this might be corrupted as *τω ενι δε ταλαντον*, "but to one a talent." Again—since "five" is represented twice here by ε̄ in Matthew (Codex D)—*δε*, "but," might be read as "but five," which, *ταλαντο̄* being read as *ταλαντα*, would give "but to one five talents." By blending these traditions, by taking the "*talents*" as "*districts*" or "*cities*," and by interchanging the gifts given by the "lord" *before his departure* with the rewards given by him *after his return*, we could explain almost all the divergences.

other examples of the use of *ἑπτάς*. Possibly there is some mystical allusion to the notion that the duration of the world is seven periods. But, in any case, Hesychius connects *μονάς*—whether derived from *μόνος* or from *μονή*—with the notion of "*numbering*."

[1] [1397 *a*] Lk. xix. 13 "He gave them *ten* minae...*do business* (*πραγματεύσασθαι*)." Comp. Sir. iii. 17 "*wealth* (עשר)," R.V. "*business*," LXX *ἔργα* (prob. leg. עשה, which is confused by LXX with עשר "*ten*" in Is. v. 10 "*ten*," (confl.) *ἐργῶνται δέκα*, and 1 S. viii. 16 עשה, *ἀποδεκατοῦν*). Comp. 1 K. vii. 43 (*bis*) "*ten*"=2 Chr. iv. 14 (*bis*) "*make*." In the latter, LXX once conflates *ἐποίησεν δέκα*.

Whatever be the original of (Mt.) "*many* things," (Lk.) "ten *cities*," it seems akin to the Johannine "*many Monae*[1] (**1431****)."

[1] [**1397** *b*] The Syriac for "*talent*" (illegible in SS of Mt.) is ܟܟܪܐ, and the Syriac for "*city*" is ܟܪܟ in Lk. Diatess. has, in Lk., "*districts*" for "*cities*," and "*shares*" (or "*portions*") for *minae*.

Addendum

[**1397***] The hypothesis of interchanged Heb. or Aram. synonyms, touched on above (**1384** *a—b*), may be illustrated by Mk xv. 34, where, instead of *sabachthani*, "*forsaken*" (the Aram. and Syr. in Ps. xxii. 1) D represents the Heb. by λαμα[α]ζαφθανει (it should be λαμααζαβθανει), β becoming φ (Dalm. *Words*, p. 54) for euphony. But ζαφ, to a Greek reading Hebrew through Greek letters as we read German through English, would suggest זעף, which means (in Heb. as well as Syr.) "*storming*," "*raging*," so as to give the meaning, "Why hast thou *raged* against me?" softened by D into "Why hast thou *reproached* (ὠνείδισας) me?"—an impossible translation, because "against" (or some prep.) would be needed, but explicable without reference to Syriac or to anything but Biblical Hebrew (comp. Prov. xix. 3 זעף על, LXX αἰτιᾶται, Sym. ὀργίζεσθαι κατὰ).

[**1397****] In Mk v. 41 "*Talitha*," D has *rabbi . thabita*. Levy iv. 415 quotes *Kebitha*, "young woman," applied to Mariamne in *Kidd.* 70 *b* parall. to ינוקתא in *Baba B.* 3 *b*. In Hebrew (Levy iii. 416) נערה was the special name given to a girl from 12 to 12½ years of age; and this girl, (Mk v. 42) "about *twelve*," might be variously denominated (comp. Gen. xxxvii. 2 "lad" נער, Onk. מרבי, Jer. טלה מתרבי; Gen. xxiv. 14, 16 "damsel" נער, Kri נערה, Onk. עולמתא, Jer. ריבא). Perhaps D had originally *rabbitha*[*tha*]*bita*. Then *Rabbitha* suggested assimilation to Acts ix. 40 *Tabitha*. The Latin MSS have *tabitha*, *thabitha*, *tabea acultha* &c.

APPENDIX II

"DO THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME[1]"

§ 1. Ἀνάμνησις *in the LXX*

[1398] Ἀνάμνησις, in Steph. *Thes.*, is nowhere alleged in classical Greek to mean "memorial." In classical Greek εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν would naturally mean "with a view to my *reminding* [someone of something]," including "*reminding* [*oneself*]," i.e. *recollecting*.

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[1] [1398 *a*] In 1329, it has been shewn that the remembrance-clause may have arisen from a paraphrase of "soul," *nephesh*, which sometimes means "memorial," or "tombstone." But there are many other causes that may have facilitated the introduction of such a clause; and an erroneous impression might be given if the hypothesis of an original *nephesh* were stated without mention of contributory circumstances. These are accordingly discussed in the following sections. But it will be convenient to place here the evidence for the use of *nephesh* as "tombstone" or "memorial."

[1398 *b*] In Syriac, only one instance of *nephesh* meaning "tombstone" or "monument" is alleged by Castell, 1 Macc. xiii. 28 (Cast. xi. 28) "monumenta sepulchralia," where Syr. has *nephesh*, and LXX "pyramids." But in Talmudic Hebrew Levy iii. 426 indicates that this meaning was very common, not only in particular phrases—such as "building," or "making," a "memorial"—but in legal enactments connecting such "memorials" with other erections in such a way as to shew that the word was in common use.

Shek. ii. 5 (*ad fin.*), with the remainder from any sum collected for the burial of a dead man, "they build a *nephesh* for him on his burial place." "Ohol. vii. 1 נפיש אטומה, ein geschlossenes Denkmal am Grabe."

[**1399**] In Heb. LXX, *εἰς ἀνάμνησιν* occurs four times, and always means "with a view to *reminding* God," by means of frankincense, trumpets, prayers &c. (**1401**). God is thus "reminded" of the desires of those who approach Him with offerings or supplication[1]. It does not occur with "my," "your" &c.; but it occurs once with "for you" in Numbers (x. 10) "They shall be to you for a *reminding* before the Lord your God." Here R.V. has "memorial," and, if the Hebrew "to you" were rendered in Greek by "your," we should have *εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀνάμνησιν*, meaning "*for your memorial* before the Lord your God," *i.e.*, in effect, as your sacrifice to God. This might have a very different meaning from "*in remembrance of you*."

Erub. (53 *a*) Mishna, "if there be...walls ten spans high...bridges, *nephesh* (pl.)...." (Goldsch. "Grüfte," Levy "Grabmäler," Rodk. "cemeteries.")

Erub. 55 *b* "a *nephesh* four ells by four, a bridge, a cemetery with a dwelling place [for the keeper], a synagogue with a dwelling place... a *nephesh* that is broken through on two sides." The phrase "*nephesh* broken through &c." occurs again in the context. Levy refers also to Tosef. Erub. VI (V).

Levy quotes j. Shek. II. 37 *a* "For the righteous, one makes (עושין) no *nephesh* (pl.): their words [*i.e.* teachings]—these are their *memorial* (זכרון)," where we have, in effect, *ψυχή* and *ἀνάμνησις* (or *μνημόσυνον*) combined. This saying occurs also in Genes. r. s. 82, 80 *c*.

Levy quotes Tosef. Achil. XVII, "The ordinary *nephesh* (pl.) in the land of Israel is clean, with the exception of...."

[**1398** *c*] The facts indicate that although our Lord, speaking in Aramaic, would not use the word *nephesh* in this sense, the Rabbinical use might subsequently influence Jewish Evangelists or Missionaries endeavouring to express the full meaning of the Eucharistic words.

[1] [**1399** *a*] Lev. xxiv. 7, Numb. x. 10, Ps. xxxviii. *tit.* ℵB (A *αμνησιν*), lxx. *tit.* It occurs also in Wisd. xvi. 6 *εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἐντολῆς νόμου.*

[**1399** *b*] In Ex. iii. 15 "This is my name for ever and this is *my memorial* (זכרי) unto all generations," LXX *μνημόσυνον*, and in Ps. vi. 5 "In death there is no *remembrance of thee* (זכרך)," LXX *ὁ μνημονεύων σου*, Aq. *μνήμη σου* (where the parall. is "In Sheol who shall give thee thanks?"), Sym. has *ἀνάμνησίς μου*, or *σου*. It should be observed that both these speak of the remembrance, or memorial, of *God*.

[**1400**] In the Institution of the Shewbread[1] it is said that frankincense is to be placed on the bread "for a *reminding*, [that is,] a fire-offering to the Lord." The "bread" was consumed by the priests. Anthropomorphically, therefore, it might be said that the Lord received nothing from the bread. But the frankincense, breathing forth odours above the bread, was a definite offering, and "reminded" Him of the bread which was represented by it. The LXX has (lit.) "and they shall be *to loaves to reminding* laid out before the Lord," of which the meaning is uncertain[2]. The context mentions a "covenant," or "testament[3]," as well as "bread," so that the passage might naturally suggest to Christians a comparison with the "bread" of the "New Testament." Ἀνάμνησις is quite rare as compared with *μνημόσυνον*, which occurs very frequently indeed in the LXX in the sense of "memorial," and thrice in N.T.[4] This gives additional reason for thinking that the Christian tradition of *ἀνάμνησις* in the Institution of the Eucharist may have been influenced in the choice of its Greek expression by the LXX account of *ἀνάμνησις* in the Institution of the Shewbread.

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[1] Lev. xxiv. 7.

[2] [**1400** *a*] Lev. xxiv. 7 "and it (*i.e.* the frankincense) shall be *to* (-ל) the bread *to* (-ל) (i.e. *for*, or, *the equivalent of*) a memorial, a fire-offering to Jehovah." The first -ל means "*belonging to*"; the second, "*equivalent to*." The LXX has *εἰς* in both cases. But *εἰς*, as far as I know, never means "*belonging to*." In the preceding context, where Heb. has simply "pure frankincense," the LXX adds "salt" and renders the above Hebrew thus, "and they (the salt and frankincense) shall be *to* (*εἰς*) loaves *to* (*εἰς*) a reminding laid out for the Lord (*προκείμενα τῷ κυρίῳ*)," where perhaps *πυρ* has dropped out before *προ*. According to the rules of Biblical Greek, this ought to mean "they shall be equivalent to loaves, equivalent to (or, for the purpose of) a reminding": but it may be a literal version of the Hebrew, meaning what the Hebrew means.

[3] Lev. xxiv. 8 "It is on the behalf of (R.V. marg. from) the children of Israel, an everlasting covenant." Comp. Mt. xxvi. 28 (*b*) "novi et *aeterni* testamenti."

[4] Mk xiv. 9, Mt. xxvi. 13, Acts x. 4. See **1411** *a—c*.

[**1401**] In the Jewish Prayer Book, the Service for the Great Feasts contains the following passage: "Our God, and God of our Fathers, may our *remembrance* rise, and come, and be accepted before thee, with the *remembrance* of our fathers, of Messiah, the Son of David, thy servant, of Jerusalem thy holy city, and of all thy people, the house of Israel...*Remember* us, O Lord, this day[1]." This seems to mean that the prayers, sacrifices, and merits, of Israel, present and past, are to go up as "a reminding" of God that He may "remember" Israel; just as the ordinance of the trumpets for a "*memorial*" is preceded by the promise "Ye shall be *remembered* before the Lord your God[2]." But the "memorial" mentioned in connexion with a Feast may also remind Israel to keep the Law, as in the commemoration of the Exodus: "It shall be... for a *memorial* between thine eyes *that the Lord's Law* may be in thy mouth[3]."

[**1402**] Ἀνάμνησις, in the account of the Shewbread, means a "memorial," or "representative offering," of frankincense, and the Hebrew word there used for "memorial" is elsewhere mostly mentioned in connexion with "burning" the "memorial" of an offering of flour or meal[4]. In the title of Ps. lxx, "to make memorial (להזכיר)," εἰς ἀνάμνησιν, the Targum has (Walton) "ad recordandum usum thuris." The word, therefore, has special associations with "incense," as well as with prayers that "go up as incense." If ἀνάμνησις in the Eucharist were interpreted in strict accordance with the analogy of the LXX, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν might mean

[1] Jewish Prayer Book, pp. 228–9.

[2] Numb. x. 9.

[3] Ex. xiii. 9.

[4] [**1402** *a*] See Lev. ii. 2, 9, 16, vi. 15. But in Lev. v. 12, Numb. v. 26, frankincense is expressly excluded from the memorial, the reason given in Numb. v. 15 being that there is a "*reminding* of sin," on which see **1411** *d*. In all these cases "memorial" = אזכרה, but it is not rendered ἀνάμνησις except in (Lev. xxiv. 7) the account of the Shewbread. Elsewhere it is rendered μνημόσυνον.

"with a view to my making a memorial"; and, having regard to the context (1 Cor. xi. 24) "for you" (*i.e.* in your behalf), this would naturally mean "with a view to my making a memorial offering in your behalf."

§ 2. *"Remembrance" in Jewish traditions about the Passover*

[1403] Passing to the Talmuds we find other illustrations of the manner in which a clause about "*remembrance*" might have been introduced, first among the Christian Jews of the Dispersion, and then among Gentile as well as Jewish Christians. The Mishna on the Passover meal tells us that, after the mixing and pouring out of the first of the four Passover cups of wine, herbs, vegetables, unleavened cakes, and sauce were brought in, and "two kinds of cooked food[1]." On this, the Babylonian Gemara, among other traditions about the "two kinds of cooked food," records a saying of R. Joseph that they must be—"one *a remembrance* (זכר) [*belonging*] *to* (ל) *the Passover*, another *a remembrance* [*belonging*] *to* (ל) *the Feast*."

[1404] This Mishna prescribes what was to be done for a remembrance of the Passover after the destruction of the Temple, when it was impossible for any Jew to partake of the legally sacrificed Paschal Lamb. But one naturally asks what had been the previous practice of the many myriads of Jews of the Dispersion who, before the destruction of the Temple, were precluded by distance from going up to Jerusalem, and who nevertheless wished to keep the Passover in some way. On this point the Babylonian Gemara is silent;

[1] [1403 *a*] *Pesachim* 114 *a*. The Mishna adds, "And, during the existence of the Temple, the BODY of the Passover (גוף של פסח, *i.e.* the Paschal Lamb) was placed on the table (lit. brought in before him) [the Master of the House]."

but the Jerusalem Gemara says, "It is taught: OUTSIDE PALESTINE (aux frontières de la Palestine) there were to be two kinds of cooked food on the first evening of the Paschal Feast, one *as a remembrance* of the Paschal Lamb, the other the offering of the Feast[1]."

[**1405**] This indicates, if it does not demonstrate, that it was a common practice for Jews at a distance from Jerusalem —before, as well as after, the destruction of the Temple— to commemorate the Passover by a feast "*in remembrance* of it." And, if that was so, the phrase "*in remembrance*" would naturally be in the mind of all the Jews of the Dispersion, on the Paschal night, long before Christ died. Afterwards, when Jews had learned, with Paul, to say "Christ our Passover," they would be prepared to accept the phrase "in remembrance of the Passover" in a new form, namely, "in remembrance of *Christ*," or (as having been actually uttered by Him), "in remembrance of *me*."

[**1406**] Again, as an illustration of the way in which something *done* "in remembrance" might pass into an utterance of the *words* "in remembrance"—as part of the Passover or Easter ritual—take the following tradition on the duty of following the usage of Hillel in some small detail in which he differed from the usage of his colleagues[2]. The Gemara says that, besides the usage of Hillel's colleagues, that of Hillel should also be adopted, "*in remembrance of Hillel* [and his doctrine] when the Temple was standing," זכר למקדש כהלל, Goldschmidt "als Erinnerung an das [Verfahren] Hillels zur Zeit des Tempels." Mr Rodkinson inserts "saying," translating as follows, "*saying*, This is in remembrance of Hillel's actions when the Temple was still in existence." No doubt, "*saying*" is sometimes to be supplied in translating from Hebrew, but its insertion is

[1] Schwab, v. 150 (*Pesachim* x. 3) "frontières," גבולין = (Levy i. 294 *b*) "die ausserhalb Jerusalems liegenden Länder."

[2] *Pesachim* 115 *a*.

questionable here. If however Mr Rodkinson is in error, his error illustrates the ease with which "*in remembrance (of the Lord*, or, the Son of man)," written by an Evangelist, might come to be regarded as "*in remembrance (of me)*," uttered by the Lord[1].

§ 3. "*Remembrance*" *in the Eucharist*

[**1407**] Coming now to the "remembrance-clause" in the Eucharist, we find that those authorities which agree with St Paul against the Gospels (excluding the longer Luke) in inserting something of the kind, differ as follows:—

(i) No very early authority (among those mentioned by Resch), except St Paul, quotes two clauses, though Justin Martyr refers to the second[2] and quotes the first[3].

(ii) (Connexion of clause.) Justin quotes the first but places it uniquely *before the words* "This is my body." He is also unique in substituting *μου* for *ἐμήν*[3].

No other authority (among those quoted by Resch) connects a remembrance-clause with the giving of the bread (except St Paul and the longer or interpolated Luke).

[**1408**] The second clause is quoted by several early authorities along with words of St Paul as being a continuous

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[1] [**1406** *a*] See **1408** for Christian traditions converting 1 Cor. xi. 26 into words of the Lord. Another interesting tradition connects the clause "*in remembrance*," not with the Passover, but with the sacrifice of Isaac thus. Playing on the meaning of the word "knife" in Gen. xxii. 6, 10, מאכלת (which is derived from אכל, "eat," and resembles מאכל, "food"), it says (Levy iii. 4 *a*, quoting Genes. r. s. 56, 55 *b*) "All *eating* that Israel *eateth* in this world they *eat* not save in memory of the *eat-causer* (i.e. knife) wherewith Abraham intended to kill Isaac."

[2] *Tryph.* 70 *τοῦ ποτηρίου ὃ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ παρέδωκεν εὐχαριστοῦντας ποιεῖν.* *Tryph.* 41 and 70 also allude to the first clause.

[3] Justin, *Apol.* 66 ...*εἰπεῖν, Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου, τουτέστι τὸ σῶμά μου· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν, Τοῦτό ἐστι αἷμά μου, καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι.*

utterance of Christ ("Do this in remembrance of me, for as often as..., ye set forth *my death*, or, the death of *the Son of man*"). Epiphanius has, "Do this in remembrance of me until the Coming of *the Son of man*[1]."

(iii) (Various readings.) The oldest Liturgy—one that "claims to be an example of the Liturgy used in the 2nd century[2]"—appears to have read ποιειν where the Corinthian Epistle has πινειν; Ephrem has, "...the New Testament in my blood. As ye have seen me *doing*, so shall ye *do* in remembrance of me[3]."

[1409] All this is what might have been expected if the remembrance-clause was not actually uttered by our Lord but was set forth by Apostolic Tradition as a free translation or paraphrase of what He said. For then we can understand, 1st, that the Synoptists omitted it because in their days it was regarded as a valuable Apostolic commentary, but not an utterance of Jesus Himself; 2nd, that several early authorities followed the Synoptists; 3rd, that those who agreed in accepting it disagreed sometimes as to its order and connexion, and all the more because, being for a long time a form of Liturgical use, not embodied in any authoritative Gospel, it was subjected to variations in passing from one church to another[4].

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[1] Resch, *Parallel.* iii. 651.

[2] [1408 *a*] Procter, *Common Prayer*, p. 305 "Liturgia Alexandrinae Ecclesiae Apostolica, ex Aethiopicis a Ludolfo Latine edita." It has "*Cum facitis hoc*, in commemorationem mei id facietis." It would be interesting to know whether "mei" represents an objective pronoun in the original.

[3] [1408 *b*] Resch iii. 653 "Sicut vidistis me facientem sic facietis in meam memoriam." Parts of πίνω and of ποιῶ are confused in Is. ix. 1 (v. r.), Eccles. iii. 12 (v. r.), and Prov. xxvi. 6 "drinketh," ποιεῖται (Gk corr. for πιεται). Some might easily be confused in oral Greek Tradition; others in writing, πιω being written πῖω.

[4] [1409 *a*] Another way in which apostolic or other early comments on Words of the Lord might be taken as Words themselves, may be illustrated by the following passage of Barnabas (vii. 5): "Because to

[**1410**] Amid all these variations one point is almost invariably fixed in those cases where the remembrance-clause is used:—the tradition is always "to *my* (*τὴν ἐμὴν*) *reminding*"; not (except once, in Justin) "to the *reminding of me* (*μου*)." Theoretically, the latter might mean "to remind *me*." But note the following from the *Apostolical Constitutions*, "Let alms be given to the poor [from the property of the deceased] *for a reminding of him*[1]"; here the meaning is "*with a view to reminding* [*God*] *about him*." That the words mean "a reminding of God," *i.e.* a memorial-offering for the benefit of the deceased, is clear from the context, which says that this benefit is for the godly, not for the ungodly, since he will not be benefited by such alms (*οὐδὲν ὀνήσεις αὐτόν*). Clement of Rome omits "of you" when he says to the Corinthians "we write this [merely] *to remind* [you] (*εἰς ἀνάμνησιν*)[2]." Thus he avoids ambiguity.

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me, destined (*μέλλοντα*, Lat. incipientem) to offer up my flesh for the sins of my new people, ye are destined (*μέλλετε*) to give gall and vinegar to drink, *eat ye alone* [*hereof*]...." The context makes it clear that the writer is referring to the pre-incarnate Christ speaking through the Law; but, apart from the context, the words might naturally be taken as a Eucharistic precept of Christ incarnate.

[**1409** *b*] Compare also:—

Acts ix. 15 (addressed to Ananias by the Lord)	Acts xxvi. 17 (addressed to Saul by the Lord)
"He (Saul) is a chosen vessel unto me to bear my name before *the Gentiles* and kings and *the children of Israel*...."	"...delivering thee from the *people* (i.e. *Israel*) *and from the Gentiles* unto whom I send thee...."

The records in Acts ix. 4—6, xxii. 7—10 of the words of the Lord addressed to Saul, concerning the nature of the Apostle's future mission, say merely that "it shall be told" him when he enters Damascus; and presumably it was "told" him by Ananias. But the record in Acts xxvi. 17 and context appears to describe it as being "told" him by Christ Himself.

[1] *Const. Apost.* viii. 42 *εἰς ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ*.

[2] Clem. Rom. 53.

[**1411**] In N.T., not *ἀνάμνησις* but *μνημόσυνον* is used to mean "memorial" in the cases of the woman that anointed our Lord's feet, and of the centurion Cornelius[1]. *Ἀνάμνησις* occurs (outside the Eucharist) only in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "But in them [the ancient sacrifices] [there is implied] a *reminding* of sins year by year[2]." There is here a kind of play on the double meaning of *ἀνάμνησις*. By *use* it means "*memorial*" and suggests "*memorial-offering*," but by *derivation* it means "*reminding*"; and in this latter sense

[1] [**1411** *a*] Mk xiv. 9, Mt. xxvi. 13 *εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς*. Origen says (*Comm. Joann.* Huet ii. pp. 12—13, Clark, p. 304) that the woman "infused the odour of the myrrh into the whole house, [that is] *into the perception of all that were in it, wherefore also it is written* 'Wheresoever this Gospel shall be preached, in all the nations, there shall be mentioned also that which this woman has done to her remembrance (or, for a memorial of her, *εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς*).'" He appears to take John's statement (Jn xii. 3) "and the house *was filled* with the odour of the myrrh," as symbolically implying that the house [*of God*] (i.e. the *Church*) *would be filled* with the savour, or memorial, of this fragrant deed.

[**1411** *b*] The Aramaic "*and there was* filled" (Syriac ומלא) might be read (in Hebrew fashion) as "*and there shall be* filled," or *vice versa* (**1290**). As regards the interchange of "*memorial*" and "*odour*," compare Hos. xiv. 7 (Heb. 8) (R.V.) "his *scent* (זכרו)," marg. "*memorial*," LXX *μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ*. *Genes. r.* 34, 33 *d* (Levy iv. 446 *b*) explains Gen. viii. 21 "the *sweet savour* (ריח)" as the "savour" of Abraham, coming out of the furnace, and as that of the martyrs. The meaning is synonymous with "memorial"; and in Sir. xxxv. 8—9 (Swete, p. 715) the *εὐωδία*, "savour," of a *προσφορά* is parallel to the *μνημόσυνον*, "memorial," of a *θυσία*. "Savour" means "reputation" (but in a bad sense) in Ex. v. 21, Jer. xlviii. 11. This may explain why the Synoptic version is omitted by John (as well as by Luke's divergent narrative), who could hardly have omitted Mark's record of such solemn words of the Lord if he had not believed them to be based on a misunderstanding.

[**1411** *c*] Acts x. 4 "Thy prayers and thine alms are gone up for a *memorial* before God (*εἰς μνημόσυνον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ*)," *i.e.* reminding God of thy needs. This phrase, occurring in a work of Luke's, indicates that he would have taken the words in the Anointing (Mk xiv. 9) *εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς*, not as meaning "that she may be remembered among *men*," but "that she may be remembered *before God*," in consequence of the prayers and praises of the faithful called forth by her good deed.

[2] Heb. x. 3.

the writer takes it here—"no permanent propitiation *for* sin but a mere reminding *of* sin, although intended to prepare the way for propitiation." The writer is contrasting these mere recurring and transient "*remindings*" of sin with Christ's one and permanent sacrifice. Similarly Philo mentions more than once the contrast between "*reminding*" and cancelling of sins[1]. In one instance, he says that the burnt-offerings of the righteous alone are permanent, but the best offering is *not* of a victim, but of "a soul whose *eucharist*, i.e. thankfulness, is immortal and written up, as on a pillar, in the house of God[2]."

[1412] The preceding investigations have shewn us that ἀνάμνησίς μου might mean "my memorial-offering" (lit. "my reminding [of God]") as in the case of alms from the property of a deceased person offered up to remind God of his merits[3], and that it is twice used by Symmachus (but by no other translator of the Bible) concerning God's "memorial," meaning in Exodus (iii. 15) apparently that by which He reminds men of Himself. But no instance has been found of ἡ ἐμὴ ἀνάμνησις. By its rarity, and by its apparent reference to the old Levitical ἀνάμνησις, it would seem to lay emphasis on "*my* reminding," *i.e.* the *New* Reminding as distinct from the Old Reminding, analogous to the distinction suggested in the Eucharistic context between the *New* Covenant and the Old one (although the Old is not mentioned).

[1] **[1411** *d***]** Philo prefers ὑπόμνησις to express the "reminding" of sin. Even when he is referring to the LXX (Numb. v. 15) θυσίαν [Philo omits μνημοσύνου] ἀναμιμνήσκουσαν ἁμαρτίαν he says that the sacrifices of the unholy (i. 345) "*call to mind* (ὑπομιμνήσκουσαι)" their sins, for "Moses said (Numb. v. 15)...." So ii. 244 εἴθισται γὰρ τὰς θυσίας μὴ λήθην ἁμαρτημάτων ἀλλ' ὑπόμνησιν αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν (comp. ii. 151 οὐ λύσιν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀλλ' ὑπόμνησιν).

[2] Philo ii. 151.

[3] **[1412** *a***]** This would seem to suggest that in some cases a distinction might be made between ἀνάμνησίς μου and μνημόσυνόν μου. In the former the intercessory aspect is perhaps more prominent; in the latter, the commemorative.

[**1413**] What hint then, if any, can be found in the Gospels of any such New Reminding promised by our Lord on the night of the Eucharist? There is none in the Synoptists. But something of the kind is placed by the Fourth Gospel at the moment when Jesus is about to go forth into the darkness from the supper chamber: "If anyone loveth me he will keep my word and my Father will love him and we will come unto him and make our abiding-place (*μονὴν*) with him...These things have I spoken unto you while abiding with you; but the Paraclete[1], the Holy Spirit, which my Father will send in my name, He will teach you all things and *call to your minds* (*ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς*) all that I said to you[2]."

[**1414**] John here uses Philo's word (**1411** *d*) "*call to mind*," instead of "*remind*." But he says, in effect, that the disciples are to do what their Master did (*i.e.* "keep his word" by loving one another and Him as He loved them) so as to retain His "abiding" presence, namely that of Himself, and of the Father, and of the Friendly Spirit, who will "remind" them of all that He said. This "abiding" and "reminding" presence would make all the old sacrifices of the Law superfluous, because now the believer would have within his heart that Power once regarded as far off, to whom a "reminding" used to go up in the form of incense or the reek of burnt-offering[3].

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[1] [**1413** *a*] Perhaps the best periphrasis of "Paraclete" for modern readers would be, "*The Friend in Need*."

[2] Jn xiv. 23, 25–6.

[3] [**1414** *a*] Comp. also Jn xiii. 15 "For I have given you an *example* (*ὑπόδειγμα*) that ye should do as I have done to you," *i.e.* that ye should love and serve one another, where the Syriac has "*type*," טופסא, the Palestinian, "*likeness*," דמו, Delitzsch דוגמה (*i.e.* *δεῖγμα*). In the Bible, *ὑπόδειγμα* is used twice by Aquila (Deut. iv. 17, Ezek. viii. 10) for תבנית, "model." In Sir. xliv. 16, *ὑπόδειγμα*=אות, "sign." It may be used by Jn to denote an external *ὑπόμνησις*, or "reminding."

[**1414** *b*] It is worth noting that the first Biblical Covenant is connected both with a "*remembering*" and with a "*sign*" or "*token*" (Gen. ix. 16–7) "And the bow shall be in the cloud; and I will look upon it that I may *remember* (זכר) the everlasting covenant...This the *token*

[1415] By this Johannine tradition—that a believer's heart becomes the home of the Son, with the Father, and with the Spirit that "reminds" men concerning the Son—we are led on the one hand to think of that which was described in the Pauline tradition as "*my reminding*," but, on the other hand, to ask whether the fulness and intensity with which the Fourth Gospel amplifies its description of the Real Presence may not take us back to some brief original utterance of our Lord, such as "*my very self*," or "*my very soul*"—an utterance beyond all words, yet needing many words to make it even dimly intelligible to those who had had no personal experience of the Utterer.

[1416] Even Ephrem[1] and Clement of Alexandria[2], though writing when the texts of the Gospels and Epistles had long been practically defined, venture to write "This is my *true* blood," or, in a paraphrase included in a long imaginary speech of the Logos, "I bestow on you *my complete self*." Much more might Ananias—when celebrating the Eucharist with the newly baptized Saul—repeat to the converted Hellenist the words of the Lord in the Greek Targum or interpretation, "This is my body," but add the usual Evangelical comment, which briefly stated that the Eucharistic gift was not only the Lord's "body" in the sense of personal presence at the time, but also His very self, reminding them of Himself, for ever[3].

[1417] Ananias is alleged to have been sent to Saul by a special command of the Lord. Even if that had not

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(or, sign) (אות) of the covenant...." The difference between the two covenants is exactly represented by the visible but evanescent splendour of the former "token" and the invisible but spiritual and eternal glory of the latter.

[1] Resch iii. 653. [2] See 1330.

[3] [1416 *a*] This view does not assume that the statements in the Acts about the conversion of Saul are all historical. But it shews how a Targum might be first appended to, and then amalgamated with, a Logion.

been so, there can be little doubt that Saul, in receiving the Lord's messenger, would feel that he was "receiving" the Lord, according to the precept recorded in the Gospel[1]; and hence, concerning that which he "received" from Ananias, in the way of tradition, under these special circumstances, he would naturally say "I received from the Lord[2]."

[1418] Besides including an explanation of "my body," the Eucharistic Use of Ananias might include an explanation of "for you," as meaning "for you who do as I do," a clause similar to that which Ephrem actually inserts ("as ye have seen me doing so shall ye do"). This, too, in course of time, would become part of the Pauline tradition as "received from the Lord."

[1419] To Jews, "my own reminding" would perhaps suggest "my own reminding [*of God*, in your behalf]," *i.e.* "my own intercessory offering instead of your inadequate one." But the word, whether in Greek or Hebrew, is susceptible of many shades of meaning according to the person reminded and the subject about which the reminding takes place. The Johannine view is that the old Hebrew or Jewish "intercession" and "reminding" are now swallowed up in presence, or complete unity. When, in old times, men talked about "reminding" God and saying to Him "awake," they were in fact "reminding" and "awakening" their own dull and torpid souls. The Father needs no "reminding." But the words "Do this to my reminding" mean "Do as I do that ye may receive my abiding Presence and Spirit, reminding you of the Son, and, through the Son, of the Father who is in you with me, and in whom alone you have your being."

[1] Mt. x. 40 "He that receiveth you receiveth me."
[2] 1 Cor. xi. 23.

APPENDIX III

PREDICTIONS OR MENTIONS OF PARADOSIS IN GREEK

(i) Isaiah

[1420] Is. liii. 6 (LXX) *καὶ Κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν.*

(Sym.) *Κύριος δὲ καταντῆσαι ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν ἀνομίαν πάντων ἡμῶν.*

Is. liii. 12 *a* (LXX) *ἀνθ' ὧν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ.*

Is. liii. 12 *c* (LXX) *καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας* (A *ἁμαρτίας*) *αὐτῶν παρεδόθη* (Ἄλλος, *κατέδραμεν*).

(Sym.) *καὶ τοῖς ἀθετοῦσιν ἀντέστη*[1].

(ii) Gospels, (*a*) The Prediction in Galilee

Mk ix. 30–2	Mt. xvii. 22–3	Lk. ix. 43–5
[1421] *Κἀκεῖθεν ἐξελθόντες ἐπορεύοντο* (marg. *παρεπορεύοντο*) *διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν*	*Συστρεφομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς Μέλλει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδο-*	*Πάντων δὲ θαυμαζόντων ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίει εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ, Θέσθε ὑμεῖς εἰς τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν*

[1] [1420 *a*] Justin, *Tryph.* 13 follows the LXX. *Apol.* 50 has (liii. 12 *a*) *Ἀνθ' ὧν παρέδωκαν εἰς θάνατον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ...*, (liii. 12 *c*) *καὶ τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐξιλάσεται...*, (liii. 6) *καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν*, and *ib.* 51 has (liii. 12 *a*) *ἀνθ' ὧν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ...*, (liii. 12 *c*) *καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς παρεδόθη.*

Mk ix. 30–2	Mt. xvii. 22–3	Lk. ix. 43–5
ἵνα τις γνοῖ. ἐδίδασκεν γὰρ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔλεγεν [αὐτοῖς] ὅτι Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀποκτανθεὶς μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται. Οἱ δὲ ἠγνόουν τὸ ῥῆμα, καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι.	σθαι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθήσεται (marg. ἀναστήσεται). καὶ ἐλυπήθησαν σφόδρα.	τοὺς λόγους τούτους, ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων. οἱ δὲ ἠγνόουν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο, καὶ ἦν παρακεκαλυμμένον ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἵνα μὴ αἴσθωνται αὐτό, καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ῥήματος τούτου. Comp. Lk. xxiv. 6—7 μνήσθητε ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν ἔτι ὢν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, λέγων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτι δεῖ παραδοθῆναι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι.

[**1422**] The Arabic Diatessaron, as translated by Mr Hogg, has :—

"And when he went forth thence, they passed through Galilee; and he would not that any man should know it (or, about him). And he taught his disciples, and said unto them, Keep ye these sayings in your ears and your hearts: for the Son of man is to be delivered into the hands of men, and they shall kill him; and when he is killed, he shall rise on the third day. But they knew not the word which he spake unto them, for it was concealed from them, that they should not perceive it; and they feared to ask him about this word. And they were exceeding sorrowful."

(ii) Gospels, (*b*) The Prediction on the way to Jerusalem

Mk x. 32–4

[1423] Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα, καὶ ἦν προάγων αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἐθαμβοῦντο, οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐφοβοῦντο. καὶ παραλαβὼν πάλιν τοὺς δώδεκα ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς λέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβαίνειν ὅτι Ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθήσεται τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς γραμματεῦσιν, καὶ κατακρινοῦσιν αὐτὸν θανάτῳ καὶ παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἐμπαίξουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐμπτύσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν, καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται.

Mt. xx. 17–9

Μέλλων δὲ ἀναβαίνειν Ἰησοῦς (marg. Καὶ ἀναβαίνων ὁ Ἰησοῦς) εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα παρέλαβεν τοὺς δώδεκα [μαθητὰς] κατ' ἰδίαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθήσεται τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ γραμματεῦσιν, καὶ κατακρινοῦσιν αὐτὸν [θανάτῳ], καὶ παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖξαι καὶ μαστιγῶσαι καὶ σταυρῶσαι, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθήσεται (marg. ἀναστήσεται).

Lk. xviii. 31–4

Παραλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς Ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, καὶ τελεσθήσεται πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· παραδοθήσεται γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἐμπαιχθήσεται καὶ ὑβρισθήσεται καὶ ἐμπτυσθήσεται, καὶ μαστιγώσαντες ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν, καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ ἀναστήσεται. Καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τούτων συνῆκαν, καὶ ἦν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο κεκρυμμένον ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον τὰ λεγόμενα.

Compare Lk. xxiv. 19—20 Τὰ περὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζαρηνοῦ, ὃς ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ προφήτης...ὅπως τε παρέδωκαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἡμῶν εἰς κρίμα θανάτου καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν.

[1424] Diatess. "And while they were going up in the way to Jerusalem, Jesus went in front of them; and they wondered, and followed him fearing. And he took his twelve

disciples apart, and began to tell them privately (lit. between himself and them) what was about to befall him. And he said unto them, We are going up to Jerusalem, and all the things shall be fulfilled that are written in the prophets concerning the Son of man. He shall be delivered to the chief priests and the scribes; and they shall condemn him to death, and deliver him to the peoples (*i.e.* Gentiles); and they shall treat him shamefully, and scourge him, and spit in his face, and humble him[1], and crucify him, and slay him: and on the third day he shall rise. But they understood not one thing of this; but this word was hidden from them, and they did not perceive these things that were addressed to them."

(ii) GOSPELS, (*c*) The Prediction peculiar to Matthew

[**1425**] The passage in Mark given below is preceded by the final word of the Discourse on the end of the world, Mk xiii. 37 *γρηγορεῖτε*. It is contended that the Discourse originally ended thus, *γρηγορεῖτε, ὅτι μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ὁ καιρὸς γίνεται.*

Mk xiv. 1	Mt. xxvi. 1—4	Lk. xxii. 1—2
Ἦν δὲ τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας. καὶ ἐζήτουν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς πῶς αὐτὸν... ἀποκτείνωσιν, ...	Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους, εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ Οἴδατε ὅτι μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας τὸ πάσχα γίνεται, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι. Τότε συνή-	Ἤγγιζεν δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡ λεγομένη Πάσχα. καὶ ἐζήτουν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τὸ πῶς ἀνέλωσιν αὐτόν,...

[1] Mr Hogg's note calls this "an obscure expression," and adds, "perhaps it was originally a repetition of the preceding clause. It might be emended into *point at him* (*the finger of scorn*)."

Mt. xxvi. 1—4

χθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ...καὶ συνεβουλεύσαντο ἵνα τὸν Ἰησοῦν...ἀποκτείνωσιν.

Compare Jn xii. 1 Ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς πρὸ ἓξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα ἦλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν, ὅπου ἦν Λάζαρος,....

[1426] Diatess. places the *Evangelic statement* (Mk xiv. 1 "after two days") *before* the Discourse on the end of the world, and the *Lord's statement* (Mt. xxvi. 2 "after two days") *after* that Discourse, thus:—

"Days will come, when there shall not be left here a stone upon another, that shall not be cast down.

And *two days before* (lit. *before two days would be*) *the passover of unleavened bread*, the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might...kill him: and they said, It shall not be at the feast, lest the people be agitated.

And when Jesus sat on the mount of Olives opposite the temple, his disciples...came forward unto him and said unto him between themselves and him, Teacher, tell us when that shall be, and what is the sign of thy coming and the end of the world. Jesus answered.....And these shall go away into eternal punishment: but the righteous into eternal life.

And when Jesus finished all these sayings, he said unto his disciples, Ye know that *after two days will be the passover* and the Son of man is delivered up to be crucified. Then gathered together the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders of the people...and they took counsel together concerning Jesus, that they might...kill him."

(ii) GOSPELS, (*d*) The mention of Paradosis at the Eucharist

Mk xiv. 18—21

[1427] καὶ ἀνακειμένων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσθιόντων ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με ὁ ἐσθίων (marg. τῶν ἐσθιόντων) μετ' ἐμοῦ. ἤρξαντο λυπεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ εἷς κατὰ εἷς Μήτι ἐγώ; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Εἷς τῶν δώδεκα, ὁ ἐμβαπτόμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὸ [ἓν] τρύβλιον· ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται.

Mt. xxvi. 21–4

καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν εἶπεν Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με. καὶ λυπούμενοι σφόδρα ἤρξαντο λέγειν αὐτῷ εἷς ἕκαστος Μήτι ἐγώ εἰμι, κύριε; ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν Ὁ ἐμβάψας μετ' ἐμοῦ τὴν χεῖρα ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ οὗτός με παραδώσει· ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται.

Lk. xxii. 21–3

πλὴν ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ παραδιδόντος με μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης· ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸ ὡρισμένον πορεύεται, πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ παραδίδοται. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤρξαντο συνζητεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸ τίς ἄρα εἴη ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ τοῦτο μέλλων πράσσειν.

Compare Jn xiii. 21, 22, 26 ἐταράχθη τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν καὶ εἶπεν Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με. ἔβλεπον εἰς ἀλλήλους οἱ μαθηταὶ ἀπορούμενοι περὶ τίνος λέγει... Ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ᾧ ἐγὼ βάψω τὸ ψωμίον καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ (and *ib.* xiii. 18 ὁ τρώγων μου τὸν ἄρτον ἐπῆρεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ).

[1428] Diatess. "And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: I say unto you, that henceforth I shall not eat it, until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God.

Jesus said that, and was agitated in his spirit, and testified, and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, One of you, [he] that eateth with me, shall betray me. And they were very sorrowful; and they began to say unto him, one after another of them, Can it be I, Lord? He answered and said unto them, One of the twelve, [he] that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, will betray me. And lo, the hand of him that betrayeth me is on the table. And the Son of man goeth, as it is written of him: woe then to that man by whose hand the Son of man is betrayed!...And the disciples looked one on another, for they knew not to whom he referred; and they began to search among themselves, who that might be who was to do [this]...My Lord, who is this? Jesus answered and said, He to whom I shall dip bread, and give it."

(ii) GOSPELS, (*e*) Mentions of Paradosis at the arrest

Mk xiv. 41–2	Mt. xxvi. 45–6	Luke omits this, but has later on
[**1429**] *ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα, ἰδοὺ παραδίδοται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν. ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν· ἰδοὺ ὁ παραδιδούς με ἤγγικεν.*	*ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν ἡ ὥρα καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς χεῖρας ἁμαρτωλῶν. ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν· ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν ὁ παραδιδούς με.*	I.k. xxii. 48 *Ἰησοῦς δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἰούδα, φιλήματι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδως;*

[**1430**] Diatess. (Mk-Mt.) "The end hath arrived, and the hour hath come; and behold, the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. Arise, let us go: for he hath come that betrayeth me."

Diatess. (Lk.) "And Jesus said unto him, Judas, with a kiss betrayest thou the Son of man?"

(iii) PETRINE SPEECHES IN THE ACTS

[**1431**] (i) Acts ii. 23 *Τοῦτον τῇ ὡρισμένῃ βουλῇ καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἔκδοτον διὰ χειρὸς ἀνόμων προσπήξαντες ἀνείλατε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν,....*

(ii) Acts iii. 13–5 *Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ὑμεῖς μὲν παρεδώκατε καὶ ἠρνήσασθε κατὰ πρόσωπον* Πειλάτου, *κρίναντος ἐκείνου ἀπολύειν· ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον ἠρνήσασθε, καὶ ᾐτήσασθε ἄνδρα φονέα χαρισθῆναι ὑμῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἀπεκτείνατε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν,....*

Addendum

[1431*] My friend Mr W. S. Aldis, commenting on the statement (1358) that, during the Last Supper, there may have been some words of Christ not heard by all the disciples, says, "And does not this supposition account for all the variations without any further hypothesis?" I think not. It might do so if the accounts were entirely different, recording entirely different sayings. But, when we find them agreeing up to a certain point and then disagreeing, or agreeing in the use of some rare word or phrase but disagreeing as to its meaning and context, and as to the circumstances in which it was uttered, we are then led to the hypothesis of a Semitic original explaining the divergences. And, if the divergences can thus be explained analogously to the divergences of the Greek translations of O.T., the hypothesis appears justified.

[1431**] The same friend, commenting on my explanation (1397) of the Parables of the Talents and the Pounds from a common origin, says, "If these two parables were by Greek or Hebrew corruption evolved out of one, it is a very happy result of error. The two have such very different lessons to teach in many respects." True. But is it wise to ignore the frequency of such "happy results" and the fact that they are caused by corruptions? The Epistle to the Hebrews (xii. 15) corrupts Deut. xxix. 18 "[*in*] *gall*" ενχολη, into "*trouble*" ενοχλη. The "result" may be called "happy" because N.T. thus teaches a "different lesson" from O.T. Westcott calls it a "strange coincidence." If he had found it in Dionysius of Halicarnassus quoting Thucydides, I think he would have called it by a different name. The Targums are full of such "results," on a large scale, some (though by no means all) very "happy," quaint or beautiful stories, borrowed in part perhaps from foreign sources, but often suggested by similar—"coincidences."

APPENDIX IV

MK VIII. 32 "OPENLY"

[1432] It has been suggested (**1225–32**) that, in a prediction about resurrection, "*for the sake of*," בגלל, might be confused with "*in Galilee*," בגליל. But a similar word, בגלוי (New Heb., and used in Mk viii. 32 by Delitzsch) means "*openly*," παρρησίᾳ. This Greek word is very rare in the LXX and non-occurrent in the Synoptic Gospels with the exception of Mk viii. 32, where it follows the first prediction of resurrection. If the Hebrew "openly," בגלוי, were followed by ל־ (as in "he spake openly *to them* (להם)"), בגלויל might be (**498** *a*) confused with either "*for the sake of*" or "*in Galilee*." Christ's prediction about "*three days*" is said (Mk xiv. 58, Mt. xxvi. 61) to have been brought against Him as a proof of a design to destroy the Temple. Desiring to meet such a charge, some Evangelists, when hesitating between different interpretations of an obscure tradition rendered by some "*for their sakes*" but by others "*in Galilee*," might prefer a third rendering, "*openly*." Comp. Mk xiv. 70 "*Galilaean*," Mt. xxvi. 73 "*bewrayeth*" (Del. גלה, lit. "*open*") (**498**).

[1433] But, further, a form of גלי "*open*," can be shewn to be connected, through Aramaic paraphrase, with the Greek παρρησία. For it has been shewn (**1254** *a*) that μετὰ παρρησίας—in the only passage where (according to the Oxford Concordance) παρρησία in the LXX certainly corresponds to a single word in the Hebrew—is the Greek of (Lev. xxvi. 13) "upright," Onk. "in liberty," Jer. Targ. "children of liberty...

with stature raised up": and Levy (iv. 264 *b*) says that "with stature raised up" "entspricht ganz dem chald. רישׁ גלי," *i.e.* "head *uncovered* (גלי)." The Syriac of παρρησίᾳ in Mark (viii. 32) is "eye *uncovered*," where "*uncovered*" is בגלא[1].

[**1434**] These facts somewhat confirm the hypothesis of an early Hebrew or Aramaic confusion, pointing to an original בגלל, "*for the sake of*," in a prediction of resurrection, as the best explanation of the evangelic divergences. As regards the Johannine tradition concerning a "place," it is not contended above (**1242**) that בגלל "for the sake of" was first corrupted into בגליל "in Galilee," and that afterwards גליל "Galilee" was confused with גליל "region," and was then rendered by the Greek τόπος, "place." The process, perhaps too obscurely described above (**1242**), is supposed to be one, not of *confounding* but of *substituting*, somewhat as follows.

[**1435**] Jewish Evangelists defending the old *spiritual* interpretation "I will go before you for your sakes" against the *local* interpretation, adopted by the earliest Greek Gospels, "I will go before you to Galilee," said "It was not the region of Galilee. If it was a place at all, it must be called the PLACE (מקום) (**1241**). As Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 11) 'went to meet the PLACE,' and prepared the way for the Church of Israel after the flesh, so did our Lord 'go to meet' the Father and prepare a place for the spiritual Israel, the Church of Christ. Read, therefore, not *Go before you to Galilee*, but *Prepare a place for you*."

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[1] [**1433** *a*] As to this (in illustration of the subject of discussion, namely, whether a word is the name of a place or an adverb) it may be noted that Gen. xxxviii. 21 בעינים is interpreted by A.V. and Jerome "*openly*" (lit. "*in the eyes*") but by R.V. and LXX "*at Enaim*."

[**1433** *b*] For Rabbinical plays on Deut. xv. 10 גלל and גלגל see *Sabbath* 151 *b* and *Levit. r.* (Lev. xxv. 39, Wünsche, pp. 236, 240).

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